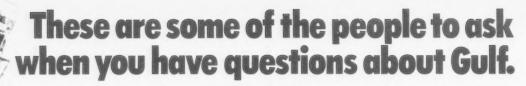
JOURNALISM REVIEW

MAY / JUNE 1978 NATIONAL MEDIA MONITOR / PRESS • RADIO • TV



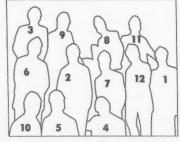
WHICH IS THE REAL WORLD? (check one)



Finding, producing and transporting energy are complicated jobs. Sometimes the reasons we do things one way instead of another, or do one thing instead of another, aren't clear to anybody outside the business. But the people and the press have a right to know what we're doing and how it will affect them. So Gulf Oil Corporation has an elaborate system for supplying answers to questions about our company. The people in the picture are just a few of the people who are in charge of Gulf Public Affairs offices in various parts of the country. Below there is a list of names and phone numbers of the Gulf people to call when you need information. We hope you'll use the system, because probably one of the most important challenges we have to meet is maintaining a free and open dialogue with the press.



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To assess the performance of journalism in all its forms, to call attention to its shortcomings and strengths, and to help define or redefine - standards of honest, responsible service . . . to help stimulate continuing improvement in the profession and to speak out for what is right, fair, and decent

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Is putting drunk drivers behind bars the only way to teach them a lesson?

There are many ways to punish drunk drivers. Jail them, fine them, suspend their licenses, or sometimes all three.

One of these, says the California Department of Motor Vehicles, appears to have a particularly strong educational effect.

The department recently studied a group of drivers with multiple drunk driving convictions who received various combinations of punishments. Drivers who lost their licenses in addition to fines or jail had better records when they got their licenses back. Over six years, they had 40% fewer reckless driving convictions, fewer crashes and fewer moving violations than drivers who kept their licenses.

The agency doesn't see suspension as a panacea. But for the moment, it seems the best lesson for drinkers should include license suspension.

A lot of people think there's nothing much to be done about the problem of drunk driving. But that's no reason to stop trying. We'd like to know what you think. Just write The Travelers Office of Consumer Information, One Tower Square, Hartford, Connecticut 06115. Or dial, toll-free, weekdays from 9 to 5 Eastern Time, 800–243–0191. In Connecticut, call collect, 277–6565.



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CHRONICLE

INNOVATIONS

Felker's Esquire

The new Esquire is too much like the old New York, which was a much better magazine than Rupert Murdoch's New York is now. The result is yet another loss of variety in national magazines. The fortnightly Esquire of editor Clay Felker and design director Milton Glaser, who were forced out of New York by Murdoch in 1977, is in many ways a return to the editorial and design policies that made the New York they created the country's most imitated magazine in the seventies. Esquire's old perfect binding has been replaced by conventional saddlestitching; more features, including cartoons by Edward Sorel and Stan Mack, and a classified section, have been added; and the contents page has sprouted photographs and

Felker introduced his first issue with a "Backstage with Esquire" column headed "A new magazine for the new American man," in which he said that the magazine "will explore new dimensions of success." The phrase accurately describes much of what appeared in the first three issues. There were profiles of well-known successful men (Reggie Jackson, Clark Clifford, Clint Eastwood, David Begelman, Tom Snyder,

posed of clumps of photographs of consumer goods posing with their consumers: ten kitchen stoves (with manufacturers and prices) and their thirteen trendy-looking owners; sixteen hats (with hatters, retailers, and prices) modeled by the man who climbed the outside of New York's World Trade Center; and eight beds (with manufacturers, retailers, and prices) and the fifteen trendy-looking people who sleep in them.

There were more substantial pieces, too: Richard Reeves on five men who paid dearly for their principles; some letters of Soviet agent Kim Philby; a piece about the effects of the fallen space satellite on six wilderness-lovers who planned to canoe across Canada.

In general, though, Felker's new Esquire, like his old New York, offers an exasperatingly shrewd combination of the irresistible and the unsatisfying. The unavoidable first impression is that the mind of one magazine has invaded the body of another, with eerie results that may discombobulate those who remember Esquire's former self during its best days.

R.C.S.

Spreading out

The Los Angeles Times, already dominant in southern California, formally invaded the home territory of its biggest rivals in the region early in April. By establishing a San

Diego edition, the *Times* challenged The Copley Press newspapers, the *Union* and the *Tribune*, on their own grounds. To staff the new edition, the *Times* is dispatching twenty-five editors, reporters, and photographers, as well as sales personnel, to San Diego, more than 125 miles from the home office. The edition is being printed ninety miles from San Diego, in the same plant where the ten-year-old Orange County edition is produced.

Meanwhile, the *Times* has also been expanding coverage of the region in its home metropolitan editions. It has set up a new San Diego bureau (independent of the San Diego edition), as well as regional bureaus in Riverside and Santa Barbara, sixty miles east and a hundred miles north, respectively, of Los Angeles.

Playing the numbers

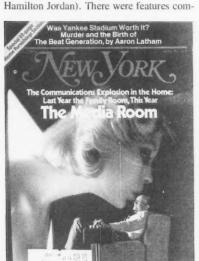
"It's called *National Opinion Poll Mag*azine and it offers subscribers a chance to voice their opinions on issues ranging from the use of saccharin to the building of nuclear power plants.

"The new publication takes the position that most Americans are overlooked when the polltakers count noses. Through the National Opinion Poll Magazine, publisher Geoffrey Dohrmann says, 'there is now a truly national forum for the expression of our opinions on issues which affect each of us.' "

So starts the release mailed by the publicrelations firm of Harshe-Rotman & Druck, Inc., with the "premiere edition" of *Na*tional Opinion Poll, published in January.

If at first you think that you have found a publication that will contain the results of reliable surveys about a wide range of important issues, think again. What the title implies and what the magazine delivers are different things. The publisher is using the old folklore that "you can't measure the opinions of Americans by talking to only 1,500 people." Dohrmann proposes to report polls based on much larger numbers.

The problem is that the magazine ignores the fundamental rule that samples in opinion polls must be randomly selected, and certainly not self-selected. Each person in a population must have an equal chance of





Editor Felker and designer Glaser's old New York and new Esquire



Ever wonder about *and#

With * and #, new telephone services will soon be at your fingertips. These services will be possible because technological innovations from Bell Laboratories and Western Electric are transforming the nation's telecommunications network.

For example, with * and #, you may be able to arrange distinctive ringing for incoming calls from telephones you designate.

You'll be able to protect your privacy by having callers get a "do not disturb" signal when they dial your number; or, when you dial a call and reach a busy signal, you'll be able to set up a callback system that will wait until the line is free, then ring your phone and the one you're calling automatically.

A New Kind of Network.

New telecommunications technology designed by Bell Labs and manufactured by Western Electric is bringing you this versatile network. Its main elements are an array of electronic switching systems (ESS) interconnected by high-capacity

transmission links, and a new "signaling" system to carry call-handling information.

Stored-Program Control.

At the heart of each ESS is something called stored-program control. With it, the system's calls are controlled by coded instructions, stored in a memory and executed by a central processor. New features can be added by updating the stored instructions rather than rewiring or making complex equipment changes.

The new signaling system that will connect these switching systems operates like a high-speed private intercom. It carries all the information needed to handle each call and frees time on the voice circuits that previously carried such information.

Over 1000 local and long-distance ESS's are already in service, and twenty regional centers for the new signaling network are in place.

These innovations are possible largely because of advances in solid-state

electronics. Because of their decreasing cost, low power consumption and speed of operation, today's integrated circuits are enabling engineers to design more capability into communications systems at lower cost

Building on Bell System accomplishments such as Direct Distance Dialing, digital communications and high-capacity transmission systems, modern electronics permits the new network to handle a wide variety of communications needs.

Continuing Innovation.

All these technical achievements, and their integration into the tele-communications network, result from the close collaboration of Bell Labs, Western Electric and Bell System telephone companies.

Because of this teamwork, Bell telephone companies will give you the innovative services represented by * and # and continue to provide

the world's most reliable telephone service for the least \$ and ¢.



Bell Laboratories

"I'll have to take these for the rest of my life. Thank God." by Sy Levin.

I'm an advertising copywriter. And I had an assignment to create a message about the cost effectiveness of pharmaceuticals. In other words, that you get back what you pay for them.

I was reviewing the literature when I realized it was talking about me. I have high blood pressure.

My doctor discovered it about six months ago. Today it's very much under control, thanks to a small tablet I take daily.

It's an expense and another daily "must," but when my doctor explained the alternatives, I knew I was ahead of the game.

High blood pressure can lead to kidney failure, stroke, or heart attack. Any of which could, obviously, mean long hospital stays and considerable expense. Or worse!

I consider this cost-effectiveness argument one of the strongest for continuing pharmaceutical research. My own experience is only one example. For some ulcer patients, a drug that can reduce the need for surgery has recently been approved. So has another that dissolves pulmonary blood clots.

Research will undoubtedly lead to more breakthrough controls or cures. It'll save more suffering—and a lot of money.

Let's remember that—despite the need to hold down medical care costs. Let's remember that we dare not jeopardize research for better drugs and medical devices.

I'll remember it. Every single day.

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being tapped. It is obvious that not everyone will have an equal chance in *National Opinion Poll*.

As the release describes the procedure, each month the magazine supplies a ballot to subscribers on four issues; subscribers can also vote by telephone, using a toll-free number. So only *subscribers* will "vote." At \$36 a year, how many poor people will participate? Moreover, subscribers come largely from mailing lists. Who knows the economic or social composition of the lists *National Opinion Poll* may use?

Aside from permitting only subscribers to vote, there is further uncertainty in the subscribers' individual decisions to vote or not. Chances are good that the magazine will hear mainly from those who feel most strongly on the issues presented. Moreover, these same individuals may try to persuade friends who subscribe to participate. There is a potential for stuffing the ballot box.

Nobody really knows whether there will be stuffing or whether only extremists will respond. Given these imponderables, nobody will be able to tell what *National Opinion Poll* results mean, despite the magazine's gesture toward breaking down the results into socioeconomic categories.

In a good public-opinion poll the margin of error can be accurately computed. When the sampling is not random, there is just no way of telling; results could be off by 5 percent or by 50 percent.

The publicity release says that the results of the magazine's polls will be sent to news media and to Congress, but it is not clear that the magazine will include frank information about the limitations of its surveys. And thus it is not clear that journalists or members of Congress will be able to see their flaws. The best hope is that people will treat these results as possibly amusing but essentially meaningless data.

Michael Ryan

DEALS

Insurance for the Star

The sale of *The Washington Star* to Time Inc., completed on March 15, 1978, promised profound long-term effects on newspaper competition in the capital, but for the time being (no pun intended) little would change. Technically, the deal comprised the sale for \$20 million and the assumption of \$8 million in debts of The Evening Star Newspaper Company and its syndicate, sub-

sidiaries of Washington Star Communications; none of the rest of Star Communications' newspaper or broadcast holdings went. Most accounts treated the transaction as a personal deal by Joe L. Allbritton, chairman of the Evening Star Company and president of Washington Star Communications. It was Allbritton who, as a novice publisher, picked up the declining afternoon newspaper from its owning family in 1974 and, with stringent cost-cutting and staff reductions, managed to get it near the black by 1978. In the final push he lost the services of James Bellows, the editor who helped to bring the paper back into professional, although not financial, competition with The Washington Post. In the process, Allbritton absorbed losses of perhaps \$25 million; with the \$38.5 million he paid for the company, he had invested more than \$63 million. However, he could realize more than \$70 million for the Star and potential sales of broadcast properties. All this does not mean that Allbritton is leaving the Star; he has agreed to stay on as a salaried publisher for five years. Indeed, the official statements gave the impression that Time Inc.'s profile would be extremely low; James R. Shepley, president of Time Inc., joins the Star board, but other changes are not in immediate prospect. The purchase could be viewed primarily as welcome insurance that Washington will not become a one-newspaper town, despite the Post's heavy and increasing leads in circulation and advertising.

(Research by Elana Lore)

Conglomerated

New Times, the five-year-old biweekly of comment and reporting founded by George A. Hirsch, became on December 22, 1977, a wholly owned subsidiary of MCA Inc., described by The Wall Street Journal as a "Los Angeles-based entertainment conglomerate swollen with cash." In a belated announcement in the issue of February 20, 1978, Hirsch said that New Times had "built our reputation on bold, gutsy reporting, and I can assure you that this will not change." Hirsch also announced that there would now be funds available to go ahead with his new monthly magazine, The Runner. Details of the sale remained secret.

Numbers 74 and 75

On January 30, 1978, E. I. du Pont de Nemours Company sold Delaware's major newspapers, The Wilmington Morning News and The Evening Journal, to the Gannett Company for \$60 million cash. Thus the state's most powerful family unloaded the two papers, which, while profitable, had become an embarrassment. Sale had been under consideration since 1964, partly as a result of bad publicity when an editor resigned over attempts by family members to control or suppress news. In subsequent years, reporters and editors were able to act with aggressive independence. (See the two articles on the Wilmington papers by Ben H. Bagdikian in the summer 1964 and July/ August 1973 issues of the Review.) Norman E. Isaacs and Andrew Fisher, who served consecutively as president-publishers of the papers between 1975 and 1978, say that they had absolute independence from family pressure. Nonetheless, one of the first commitments of Gannett's new publisher, Brian J. Donnelly, was to promise impartial coverage of the Du Pont interests.

The terms leading to the sale were unusual. Du Pont called for bids last October, after it had acquired direct control of the papers through a merger with a subsidiary holding company, Christiana Securities. The company stipulated that the purchase be for cash and demanded a \$400,000 deposit for inspection of News-Journal finances and plant, thus eliminating all but the most affluent newspaper corporations. The unsuccessful bidders, in descending order of the bids, were the Hearst Corporation, the Washington Post Company, the Mansfield (Ohio) Journal Company, and Associated Newspapers Group Limited of London. The purchase, Gannett's largest in a single market, gave the company seventy-five daily newspapers. The combined daily circulation of the pair is 140,000. Chris Bowman

Number 76

The Gannett Company raised its record total of owned dailies to seventy-six with the acquisition early in 1978 of *The Daily News* of Charlotte Amalie, Virgin Islands, a forty-eight-year-old paper with circulation near 10,000 founded and owned by Ariel Melchior, Sr.

Number 77

The Gannett Company soon afterward announced the purchase of the Coffeyville Publishing Company, which operates the Kansas town's evening and Sunday *Journal*.

The acquisition brought Gannett's total to seventy-seven dailies in thirty states, as well as the Virgin Islands and Guam. The seller was the Seton family, which retains newspaper and broadcasting properties elsewhere.

CLOSINGS

Caught in the slimdown

WomenSports magazine folded in February 1978, four months shy of its fourth anniversary. The publication had been running in the red and Charter Publishing, which had acquired the magazine in 1976, halted publication as part of an effort to trim fat before a merger with Downe Communications.

The magazine already has an announced successor. Women Sports Foundation, a nonprofit organization, plans to start a similar publication in August. Billie Jean King, founder of *WomenSports*, created the foundation in 1974 and became its executive director in 1976 when it was incorporated. The new publication will go to foundation members, and others will be able to subscribe for \$12 a year.

Nancy Rochford

102 years, 2 months, 12 days

The Chicago Daily News, first published

on December 23, 1875, ceased publication on March 4, 1978. Two comments appear in this issue, starting on page 35.

Trib death

New York's new tabloid, *The Trib* ("Chronicle," March/April) published its last issue on April 5, 1978, four days short of three months of age and less than a week after its last best hope — that of filling the breach in a strike at the other New York papers — had faded.

HONORS

The Polks

The George Polk Awards in journalism, named for the CBS correspondent killed in Greece thirty years ago (and administered by Long Island University), were awarded March 15, 1978, to:

Robert C. Toth, Los Angeles Times, foreign reporting; Walter Pincus, The Washington Post, national reporting; Len Ackland, the Des Moines Register, local reporting; Daniel Lang, The New Yorker, magazine reporting; Barry Lando, 60 Minutes, CBS News, radio-television reporting; John

Stossel, WCBS-TV, New York, local radiotelevision reporting; Red Smith, *The New York Times*, commentary; Peter S. Prescott, *Newsweek*, criticism; Eddie Adams, Associated Press, news photography; Jeff MacNelly, *Richmond News Leader*, editorial cartoons; and Carey McWilliams, for twenty-four years editor of *The Nation*, a special award as "an exemplar of integrity throughout his career."

"For those who had no redress"

The 1977 Heywood Broun Award, named by The Newspaper Guild for its most notable founder, went to Fredric N. Tulsky and David Phelps for articles in the Jackson, Mississippi, *Clarion-Ledger* exposing police brutality and police-court abuses. The citation noted "their resourcefulness and determination in providing a hearing for those who had no means of redress through the existing court and police system."

DuPont-Columbia Awards: all TV

The 1976-1977 Alfred I. duPont-Columbia University Awards in Broadcast Journalism were announced February 14, 1978, in a PBS television broadcast from the Columbia campus in New York. There were

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nine awards:

"Six American Families," a Group W documentary series presented on PBS; "Once a Priest . . ." a documentary on WBBM-TV, Chicago; 28 Tonight, a magazine show on KCET-TV, Los Angeles; "The Timber Farmers," a documentary on KGW-TV, Portland, Oregon; WFAA-TV, Dallas, for community service; "Human Rights: A Soviet-American Debate" and "The Struggle for Freedom," both by NBC News; "The Police Tapes," a videotape documentary on WNET, New York; and Walter Cronkite and the CBS Evening News.

There were also eight citations awarded. In all seventeen recipients, there was no recognition as in past years, for radio journalism, and *Broadcasting* magazine was impelled to comment that the awards program needed to "restore its sense of balance."

The award jurors issued a statement on the condition of broadcast journalism, and expressed their concern over "the decline in prime time documentaries," the failure of network news to expand to an hour's time, the "trivia, flashy new equipment and show-business gimmicks" on local television news, and the overemphasis on ratings of news shows.

In connection with the awards, Thomas Y. Crowell published *Rich News*, *Poor News*, the sixth duPont-Columbia survey of broadcast journalism, written by Marvin Barrett, director of the program. It is priced at \$5.95, paperbound.

Opportunities

The Fund for Investigative Journalism, which has underwritten more than 350 projects since it was established in 1969, has announced two new programs. The Albert C. Kihn Fund for Integrity in Journalism will be used to report on news media performance in northern California; the fund is named in memory of a KRCN-TV cameraman who complained to the F.C.C. about the monopoly power of KRON's licensee, the Chronicle Broadcasting Corporation. After Kihn's death in an airplane crash, a settlement of the complaint from which Kihn's estate benefited was used to establish the fund. A second grant has been provided by the J. M. Kaplan Fund to help free-lance reporters probe public abuses in New York City and New York State. Inquiries may be directed to Howard Bray, executive director, 1346 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

FOLLOWING UP

An item in the November/December "Chronicle" suggested that there had been no written contract between Universal Press Syndicate, distributors of *Doonesbury*, and the *Philadelphia Evening and Sunday Bulletin*. It has been pointed out to the *Review* that there was a written contract that permitted cancellation with thirty days' notice; however, the price of the strip was the subject of an oral agreement, and it was this that a judge ruled invalid in permitting *Doonesbury* to leave the *Bulletin*.

The Madison Press Connection, a weekly strike newspaper started in October 1977 ("Chronicle," January/February) shifted to publication as a morning daily tabloid on February 7, 1978.

Dennis P. Leavy, a former staff member at *The Suffolk Sun*, the morning daily Cowles Communications established on Long Island, points out that the paper lasted longer than the eleven months stated in "Chronicle" for March/April 1978. In fact, the *Sun* continued just short of three years — from November 21, 1966, to October 17, 1969.

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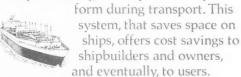
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difficult to produce on
Earth. And silicone crystals
for electronic components—with a purity
never before achieved.
To put your projects
into orbit, we're the ones to call.

Our "floating pipeline," another project with roots in our space work, offers help in solving world-wide energy problems. Developed in cooperation with Gaz-Transport of France, it's an insulating system for sea-going tankers which keeps natural gas in super-cold liquid



Just as our aerospace technology has produced some quite remarkable down-to-earth benefits, so has our computer technology...



You may have noticed—your doctor has not

escaped the paperwork avalanche. Insurance and other report forms to be filled out. Financial accounting which grows more and more complex. Records of all kinds which must be kept available. Expensive paperwork which adds to the cost of your medical care.

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ATISSUE

Should newspapers be policing sex?

Newspaper editors and publishers are unusually sensitive, as they should be, to any threats of censorship of their news columns. They proclaim the public's right to know detailed information about government, industry, business, the professions, and the life-styles of the community. If the details are sometimes unappetizing, depressing, or salacious, publication is defended on the sound premise that a democratic society cannot make intelligent decisions without access to complete information.

An increasing number of editors and publishers, however, are curiously insensitive about censorship of their advertising columns, insensitive to the point of applying the censorship themselves when the subject matter is sex. Their censorship takes the extreme form of outright prohibition of certain categories of advertising. The trend began more than five years ago when a few newspapers, the largest of which was the Detroit News, announced they would no longer accept advertising for X-rated movies. Since then the list of censoring newspapers has grown slowly but steadily, and in the last year several prominent newspapers, including the Los Angeles Times have banned all advertising for "pornographic" movies. Confident that it can distinguish between pornographic and other sexually explicit films, The New York Times limits the size of the ad and bans illustrations if the film is considered pornographic.

Sex became a problem in advertising only in the last decade when the puritanical climate that had effectively inhibited open, explicit discussion of sex began to dissipate. Sex, of course, had always been important in advertising but always in euphemistic terms, carefully hinting and suggesting, never speaking boldly. Advertising for everything from

soft drinks to automobiles implied that Brand X would magically enhance sexual togetherness.

The news columns, too, have always depended heavily on sex to attract readers - in some publications it has been the major attraction — but here also the language has been devious. Women were never raped in news reports; they were criminally assaulted. Men were never found guilty of sodomy; they were convicted of a statutory offense. Unmarried men and women never lived together; they were "constant companions" or "seen together frequently in public." Meanwhile, in the wider world of publishing, novels that described sexual activities in explicit terms were banned, and photographs of people in the nude were limited to art books and French postcards.

Then signs of change began to appear. Legislators and judges became less certain than they previously were of what constituted obscenity. Writers and film directors began ignoring taboos. In 1966 the movie Blowup, directed by the noted Italian director Michelangelo Antonioni, was released to American theaters. In one very brief scene - if you blinked you missed it - there was a glimpse of what critics delicately called female frontal nudity. Oldtime exhibitors, trained to be wary of censorship, said the film would never be seen except in "art" houses and obscure outlying theaters, but they were wrong. Producers, sensing the changing climate, discovered it was no longer illegal to show people in their natural state, front or rear, and soon there was a wave of movies showing people skinnydipping in a forest pool or playing volleyball in the nude. Before long, producers began to show other things people sometimes do when they take their clothes off, and the triple-X movie moved out of the stag smoker and into the neighborhood movie house. Publishers had a new problem.

Previously, movie advertising had seemed to promise far more sex than the film delivered. Now, suddenly, the movie actually showed what the ad implied it would. With the less restrictive definitions of obscenity, a wide range of materials, products, and services that would have been banned a few years earlier became available to the adult public. One fortunate result of this has been less harassment for producers of serious literary and artistic works dealing with sexual themes. A less happy result has been a flood of trashy books and magazines, a rash of equally trashy X-rated films, and a mushrooming of massage parlors which minister not to aching backs but to aching libidos.

hen ads for these products and services began to appear in newspapers many readers protested vigorously and organized lobbies to put pressure on editors and publishers to stop printing them. Newspaper readers have always protested the printing of material that offended them in either news or advertising columns, but this time there was a difference. Previously they might object to a semi-nude photograph in a movie ad; now they were outraged by what they understood the film depicted. They were aiming not at the copy in the ad but at the business which placed it.

Frustrated at their inability to eliminate these businesses by action of the police, the courts, or the legislative bodies, citizens turned to the newspapers. And many newspapers, unable to placate readers by censoring copy, have responded by refusing to accept any advertising for certain categories of business.

At first glance, the issue seems simple and the ban justified: X-rated films and massage parlors are indecent; to avoid promoting indecency, newspapers should ban any advertising of them. This was the conclusion of the *Los*

Angeles Times when it rejected advertising for "hard-core pornographic" movies. In explaining the new policy, publisher Otis Chandler wrote: "The truth is, we have been dealing with an indefensible product, one with absolutely no redeeming values. . . ." One can share Chandler's feelings about pornography, but the issue is more complicated than condoning or condemning "indefensible products." The issue is: who determines what is obscene or illegal and who determines which businesses may operate in a community?

The objective of the protesters in seeking an advertising blackout is to dry up patronage. They assume that the films and the parlors are immoral, and they want the newspapers to put them out of business. Perhaps some of them should be put out of business. Perhaps all of them should be. A community has the right to protect itself against forces that would destroy it; but in a democratic society identifying those forces and dealing with them is the proper function of elected officials, the police, and the courts. The function of the newspaper is to report comprehensively and aggressively, to comment, to recommend action, to condemn if condemnation seems justified, but not to force businesses out of existence if legislatures and courts have not found them illegal.

In one Midwestern city the city council attempted to write an ordinance that would prohibit the operations of sexually oriented massage parlors while allowing therapeutic massage establishments to continue to operate. The council members found the task so difficult they gave it up and, instead, called on the local newspapers to solve the problem by refusing to accept massage parlor advertising. The mayor announced there would be no need for a new ordinance if the newspaper would refuse to accept massage parlor advertising. In effect, he proposed that the newspaper decide what services and products are illegal.

If a newspaper refuses to accept advertising for triple-X films, does it also refuse ads for any X-rated film? A few years ago the movie voted the best film of the year by the New York film critics,

Clockwork Orange, had an X rating. Many critics praised Last Tango in Paris, calling it an artistic achievement; it, too, was rated X. If a newspaper makes an exception in these cases, on what basis is it made? Should the newspaper view X-rated or triple X-rated movies before making a decision? If a paper prohibits advertising for such films, should it also reject ads for a general book store that carries illustrated sex manuals on its shelves? (One recently published sex education book for children, prepared under religious auspices, contains very explicit photographs of male and female anatomy and of various sex acts.) Or, again, should a paper judge the merit of books dealing with sex before accepting ads for them?

A newspaper has a responsibility for all of the copy that appears in both its news and advertising columns and should decline copy it considers libelous, inaccurate, misleading, or offensive. But passing judgment on copy is quite different from passing judgment on the product or service advertised if the product or service may be legally offered for sale to the general public.

Citizen groups from time to time raise questions about the wisdom of permitting the manufacture and sale of products they consider harmful to physical or mental or moral health: cigarettes, liquor, pesticides, nuclear weapons, heavily polluting engines, etc. These are proper questions to raise and debate, and newspapers should encourage the debate. But if a product or service is to be banned, the acceptable way to do it is through the democratic legislative and judicial processes, not through arbitrary censorship.

KENNETH MacDONALD

Kenneth MacDonald was editor of the Des Moines Register and the Des Moines Tribune from 1953 to 1976.

Are newspaper subsidies unthinkable?

The prevailing orthodoxy in the American press is that the first duty of newspapers is to make money. Otherwise

newspapers couldn't be free, for they would have to look for support to some special interest, even government. That assumption is being tested in Europe today in ways that could well have long-range effects on newspapers in America and everywhere else that have traditionally taken their chances in the marketplace.

Because European newspapers have been finding life hard, the prospect of the government dole is less abhorrent than it was not long ago. Governments for their part are accepting responsibility for providing economic "protection" for a free but floundering press. Aid plans have been adopted in most Western European countries and are being argued in Germany and England.

These schemes are contagious because they are being watched closely from one country to another. They are not as dissimilar as the countries' different political climates might lead one to suppose. The economic difficulties also are pretty much the same because they are worldwide: skyrocketing costs, especially of newsprint; advertising losses; circulation losses as per-copy prices soar; and, in some countries, new competition from government-sponsored commercial television. As in the United States, papers in Western Europe have often failed to follow their readers to the suburbs. Labor resistance to automation has been even more militant than in the United States.

The large number of newspaper suspensions and mergers also parallels trends in America. Throughout Western Europe, the number of independent editorial units has decreased by more than a third since the boom days of the mid-1950s; ownership of newspapers by the four largest press groups during the same period has grown by nearly half. So subsidies have simply sharpened the enduring philosophical arguments over press economics: is competition between newspapers sufficient in itself to permit diversity of ideas? Can an advertising-based support system be truly democratic? If not, what is to replace it that would permit an independent, adversary press to exist?

The traditional free-enterprise argument that newspapers ought not to be made to help their less successful competitors and that subsidies penalize good management and reward ineptitude has so far had less appeal in the more leftish European nations than in the United States. So has the notion that great combinations of newspapers preserve press freedom by keeping alive newspapers that would go under as independent enterprises.

Does a newspaper that truly serves the public deserve to live even if it can't make money? There have been different answers to this question and different kinds of relief have been found. Some governments have offered indirect subsidies to all papers in the form of tax and tariff concessions and favorable rates for postal and transportation services. Such help is found everywhere. Usually it is modest - too modest, in the view of a great many of Europe's publishers. More direct aid is given, often selectively, as loans or outright grants, government advertising, the purchase of press runs, support for training programs and research, preferential newsprint prices, and even as sinecures for newsmen. Subsidies or full support for other media - broadcasting and the movies - have of course been common worldwide for a long time.

Scandinavia, and particularly Sweden, has the most advanced newspaper subsidy schemes. Sweden's was enlarged again in 1976. When introduced ten years ago the program provided aid for political parties, some of which chose to spend part of the funds on their newspapers. Now the plan provides direct grants, partly supported by a tax on advertising, to all morning newspapers that cover fewer than 40 percent of the households in their circulation areas. There are also subsidies for plans under which newspapers enter joint distribution schemes, receive support to encourage founding of new non-daily newspapers, low-cost loans, and exemption from the value-added tax - altogether about \$130 million a year.

In Britain low-cost, governmentguaranteed short-term loans were proposed in 1976 in an interim report of a royal commission. A number of other ideas, including creation of a cooperative national printing corporation, have been eved and rejected. In 1972 the French gave a special one-time subsidy to newspapers according to the number of copies printed and in 1973 awarded funds to small newspapers in which less than 30 percent of space was taken by advertising. In the Netherlands a portion of the losses of two national newspapers has been underwritten by the government; after the introduction of commercials on television a part of the proceeds was for a time distributed to the newspaper press, presumably proportional to the assessed loss of newspaper revenue. Italy has distributed direct grants to the press in addition to offering duty concessions on newsprint and various other fee reductions.

There appears to be no evidence that general and indirect subsidies have compromised the press. However, the history of direct, selective subsidies does not inspire confidence. The direct-indirect distinction was noted by Cecil King, then chairman of Britain's mammoth International Publishing Co., in the mid-1960s, when subsidy plans were emerging: "So far as I am aware, journalistic ingenuity has not found a way of tapping government money on any large scale which would be acceptable to government and public opinion, which could be distributed fairly and which would not threaten the independence of the press." The royal commission probing the economics of the press researched assertions like those and ultimately rejected all direct subsidy schemes.

It did not have to look far to find discouraging examples. In Greece before the junta of 1967-1974 the government gave grants, loans, advertising and printing jobs, and other concessions to the intensely political Greek press. Predictably, these supports were then manipulated by the junta to check and discipline the press, first by abolishing the duty exemption on newsprint, then by slapping a government advertising boycott on the nonconformist press. When Fidel Castro came to power in Cuba in 1959 he immediately suspended all forms of assistance enjoyed by the

Cuban press, thus making it a certainty that many of Havana's dailies would have to shut down. Government advertising is a typical subsidy in both the developed and underdeveloped nations; it has been condemned by the Inter-American Press Association, but it is a high-profile feature of many of the European aid schemes, most predominantly in Sweden and France.

Strangely to Americans, most Europeans — with perhaps the conspicuous exception of the British — are less vocal about the implications for loss of freedom than about whether subsidies really can guarantee a diversified press and what form aid should take. The record of the spate of recent plans is too short to indicate whether this aid has really kept marginal papers afloat, although the Swedes think it has. Some Swedes, who think they have built into their system reliable criteria for distributing aid, quite unabashedly see the day the role of the press will be changed, as one put it, "from a political instrument controlled by the market to being a part of the communication system controlled within broad limits by the parliament and paid for by the taxpayer rather than the audience.'

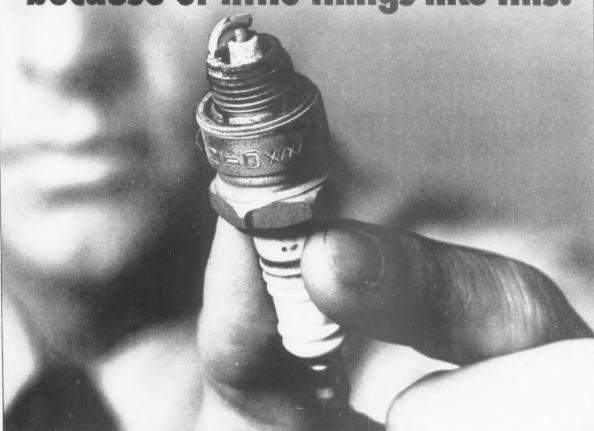
Another scenario simply suggests that newspapers adapt or die a natural death as new forms of communications take over the traditional role.

Neither projection is very palatable in America. Direct press subsidies are so much at variance with recent American political tradition (although common enough in the party press of the early nineteenth century) that almost no attention has been paid to them here, except to quickly deplore and dismiss them.

So far we have found in the United States some ways to regulate and encourage competition other than by government subsidies. The Newspaper Preservation Act, for one, provides opportunities for competing newspapers to benefit from joint advertising, production, and distribution, which subsidy schemes in Europe also encourage.

Yet the European subsidies bear close watching here. The American press is beset by many of the same problems plaguing the European press, with the

800 million gallons of gasoline could be wasted each year because of little things like this.



A worn spark plug after about 20,000 miles of use.



Maurice F. Granville.

Little things like misfiring spark plugs. Or a dirty air filter. Or underinflated tires. They all waste gasoline. That's expensive for you. And Chairman, Texacolne. even worse for the U.S.

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And every gallon wasted makes us more dependent on foreign oil. It increases the drain on the American economy.

So see vour Independent Texaco Retailer for quality products you can trust. And keep your car in tune. After all, keeping vour car running right can save you gasoline and reduce emissions, too.

That's good for you. And good for the United States.

We're working to keep your trust.

same result: fewer independent papers. When the stakes become life and death, American industry has not been above beseeching — even demanding — government help, however much it has espoused the free-market ideal. In demanding that public-service considerations should outweigh statistical costing techniques in the setting of preferential second-class mailing rates, the American press has certainly hedged its rejection of subsidies in principle.

The notion that where waning competition makes it difficult for people to get a voice the remaining media should act as "common carriers" of ideas has been around for at least as long as the Hutchins Commission report of 1947. An advance from this view to the position that the press is a public utility that should be countenanced as a monopoly and guaranteed a profit, with all the specters of regulation in the "public interest" that conjures up, is still hereti-

cal. But in the light of the European ventures, it is no longer unthinkable.

MILTON HOLLSTEIN

Milton Hollstein is a professor of communication at the University of Utah.

Bringing alcohol into the open

How do America's newspapers portray the effects of alcohol and drinking? A national survey shows a great deal of objective reporting of such news, spottier treatment in features, and one glaring error of omission. On alcoholism itself, good work is being done. Local and national experts are quoted about the hazards, waste, and loss due to alcoholism. Alcoholics Anonymous, the Salvation Army, and other community organizations are given space, and personal-advice columnists typically provide good, if somewhat stereotyped, advice.

What the papers fail to do is to show the frequent involvement of alcohol in serious automobile accidents and crimes — an involvement that produces a waste of thousands of lives and billions of dollars a year. The faithful newspaper reader can glean this in general terms from stories about alcoholism, but is not usually told about the day-by-day implications of drinking.

Our study included three kinds of papers — eleven consensus "quality" papers (for example, the *Los Angeles Times*), and, from each geographical quadrant of the country, two large and three small papers. Each of the thirty-one papers chosen was asked to supply weekday issues for the week of May 23-27, 1977. We received a working sample of 153 issues; every item on every page of those issues was read, except classified ads and automobile and real-estate sections.

We could now compare newspaper performance on alcohol with what we knew of reality — that is, a reality based on hundreds or reports, both research studies and documents of such public bodies as police departments and coroners' offices. For example, a study done

in 1971 estimated the cost to the nation of alcohol-related problems at \$25.37 billion, of which \$8.29 billion was lost in health-related costs and \$6.44 billion in motor-vehicle accidents.

We can be more specific, focusing on two kinds of news stories — auto crashes and violent crimes. Note that these both involve the classic newspaper beat, the police station, as well as the hospitals, courts, and other government offices.

Let us consider auto accidents first. A standard measure of intoxication is the blood-alcohol concentration. Many jurisdictions hold a level of .1 percent or higher to be prima facie evidence of impairment. Studies, now numbering in the hundreds, yield conclusions such as the following: that alcohol-impaired drivers are involved in 5 to 10 percent of routine auto crashes, 10 to 35 percent of serious crashes, and 40 to 55 percent of fatal accidents; that in single-vehicle accidents, the proportion rises to 55 or 65 percent; that about a third of fatally injured pedestrians are alcohol-impaired; and that when "responsibility" for a crash is assayed, using standardized criteria, the rates among alcoholimpaired drivers are even higher.

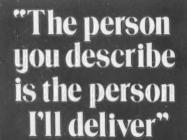
Given such facts, what did the papers in our sample print? Some, to be sure, had published summaries of research studies such as those we have mentioned. But in reports of accidents we found a rather small number of stories giving actual alcohol details about individuals. Among the examples we found:

In a story on motor-vehicle homicide in the *Lincoln* (Nebraska) *Star*: "The complaint filed against ______ alleges that he had more than .10 percent alcohol in his bloodstream at the time of the accident."

Cincinnati Enquirer: "Deputies said . . . pieces of a liquor bottle apparently thrown from the motorcycle were found imbedded in the pole. . . ."

Bloomington (Indiana) Herald-Telephone: "_____ was arrested late Thursday night and charged by police with driving under the influence of alcohol. . . . He was booked into Monroe County Jail. . . ."

Beyond straight news reports, we found a few stories that took more dig-



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111 East 58th Street, New York, N.Y. 10022 (212) 752-8888 ging. The Miami Herald gave more than a column to an investigative story by a staff writer, Arnold Markowitz, telling about a motorist who pursued a hit-run driver and, in a confrontation, shot and killed him. The hit-run driver was said to have been "carrying a bottle of beer," "partying," and, according to a passenger in his car, "a little more intoxicated than I thought." The lead said that he "lived fast, drank hard, drove wildly and died young." The story was picked up by the wire services. An Associated Press story from Omaha reported that a trial had been scheduled for a man on a felony charge of thirdoffense drunken driving. The story went on to review the man's driving record, including a prison sentence for an accident that killed a woman.

Several papers presented, under standing heads, lists of court decisions on driving offenses — "Drunken Driving," "Convictions in District Court," "Failed Breathalyzer Test." These papers often listed the driver's name, age, and street address.

Sometimes stories seemed to contain veiled references to drinking. When accidents, for example, result in a charge of reckless driving, there is obviously more than a possibility of alcohol involvement. Each such case requires checking, but such information is often available, subject to variations in laws and local police practices. Secondary material and technical reports may be harder to get, but can enrich a story greatly.

Alcohol involvement in auto crashes was mentioned by fifteen of our thirty-one papers, among them several of the largest, but reference to alcohol's role in other crimes was virtually nonexistent, aside from a few references in trial stories to drinking. Such a deficiency again fails to square with the prominence of alcohol revealed in studies and reports. One estimate suggests that alcohol is associated with 64 percent of all murders, 41 percent of assaults, 34 percent of forcible rapes, and 29 percent of other sex crimes. A complete list would be even longer, if we were to add

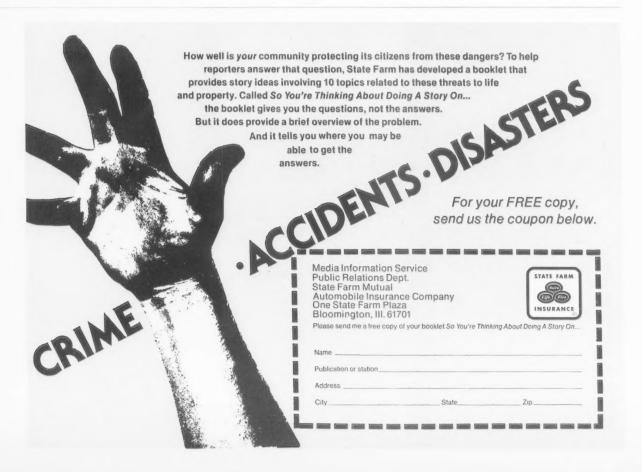
child abuse and battered wives, or the effects of heavy drinking on health.

Newspapers are criticized for many things. The criticism we make here is offered, to our knowledge, for the first time. What we recommend is that journalists give serious consideration to the role of alcohol as a catalyst in certain kinds of stories, day by day. This more explicit reporting could help explain how and why an event occurred — an objective of current journalism.

We cannot deal with a problem until we recognize it — and the press can help us to see this one. If we are to combat alcohol abuse, more reporting of its role in accidents and crimes is necessary. In this task, journalists, along with the police, are at center stage.

WARREN BREED and JAMES R. DeFOE

Warren Breed and James R. DeFoe are research associates for the Scientific Analysis Corporation, San Francisco. Their research was supported by a grant from the National Institute for Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism.



PUBLISHER'S NOTES

Those long letters

Why, asks a reader, does the *Review* carry such long letters to the editor?

It is simply a reflection of the magazine's basic philosophy. In its first issue in 1961, the *Review* said it intended "to provide a meeting ground for thoughtful discussion . . . , to encourage debate, and to provide ample space for responsible dissent."

The views of outside authors or even of the editors are not necessarily gospel. Articulate dissent can be enlightening as well as fair. No super-condensed letters column, however readable, can do it justice.

The lost follow-up

FEDERAL REPORT SAYS GAS FIRMS WITH-HELD SUPPLY. That and other facsimile headlines to the same effect capped a February 16 ad by Continental Oil Company in *The Washington Post* and *The New York Times*. There followed these words: "A year ago you couldn't miss the charges. But you probably missed the follow-up."

A brief text explained that a National Academy of Sciences investigation, commissioned by the secretary of the interior, had exonerated Conoco and others of the year-old charges made in a report to the secretary. It added: "It is an unfortunate fact of life that charges make headlines and exoneration gets lost in the inside pages — if it is mentioned at all." It added that the newspaper (the *Post* or the *Times*) had featured the charges but "ignored" the follow-up story.

Checking, we found the ad essentially true. The announcement of the complex findings, made by the Interior Department on January 19, seems to have been lost in the welter of Washington press releases. Only a few papers, such as *The Wall Street Journal*, the *Tulsa World*, the *Houston Chronicle*, and the *New*

Orleans Times-Picayune reported it.

After the ad appeared, *The New York Times* demonstrated its good faith by fully reporting the new findings, though on an inside page. And *The Christian Science Monitor* subsequently published a round-up story putting the whole issue in perspective.

It's an old story — the correction failing to catch up with the original, partly because of the history-on-the-run nature of journalism. In this case the Interior Department was partly to blame; it should have given the new report the same prominence (a secretary's press conference) it gave to the original charges. But such unfairness — to everyday citizens as well as to corporations — is a continuing problem that even responsible journalism has still to solve.

The King's English

□ The New York Times of February 1 led off a top-of-page-one article with this: "New York City expects to have almost twice as much cash on hand at the end of the current fiscal year than projected a month ago . . ." And Lesley Stahl on CBS February 6 said "four times as many . . . than."

Both seemed as much than could be expected.

☐ The Princeton Alumni Weekly is "published twice monthly," says its masthead. And, of course, the Saturday Review appears every other Tuesday — "biweekly (except monthly during August and December)."

☐ Having questioned the meaningless attribution "sources say," we spotted a choice exhibit in the *Morning News* of Wilmington, Delaware, of January 20. In reporting on the sale of its own parent corporation, the News Journal Co., it said: "According to sources, the News-Journal Co. has annual revenues of about \$25 million."

That's good digging for you.

The business side

The *Review* has inflation problems too. The cost of its paper (and the paper of many other magazines) has gone up approximately 25 percent in two years.

Incidentally, gross revenue from subscriptions now covers about 55 percent of expenses. Advertising income covers about 30 percent. Much-valued gifts and grants, plus miscellaneous income, cover the remaining 15 percent.

As income goes up (faster than costs, we hope), the *Review* will be able to do a better job.

Radio station, corporate shield

In this day of corporate takeovers and "raids," a special, cagey use has been found for radio stations. A company, fearing it may become the unwilling target for a takeover by another company, buys a struggling, money-losing little radio station from a willing owner. The purchaser, though operating in an unrelated field, gets "emergency" approval from the Federal Communications Commission by demonstrating that the purchase will assure the future of the station. Often it embellishes its role by stating, for example, that the officers and board have an abiding interest in fine music, in which the station has specialized. By buying the station, the owning company is, in effect, buying insurance that it will not be swallowed up by a larger company, since now it cannot be purchased without F.C.C. approval. And that can be a long and tedious process. Moreover, since officers and board of the station's owner oppose the acquisition, the effort will probably fail. We know of at least two cases where companies appear to have employed this strategy. They are not named here because proving motivation E.W.B.can be next to impossible.

A free press can of course be good or bad, but, most certainly, without freedom it will never be anything but bad.

Albert Camus

NORTHROP

Aircraft, Electronics, Communications, Construction, Services Northrop Corporation, 1800 Century Park East, Los Angeles, California 90067, U.S.A.

COMMENT

Whose monster?

"These two men knew everything. Finally one tells the whole truth."

Times Books advertisement for The Ends of Power

t did not matter much, in the long run, that The Washington Post swiped a copy and broke the publication date on The Ends of Power, the book written by Joseph DiMona, author of Frank Costello: Prime Minister of the Underworld and The Benedict Arnold Connection, and signed by H. R. Haldeman. Somehow, the Post's premature story and the ensuing hullabaloo all became part of the hype for the book, which, at last glance, was doing well—in first place on the list of nonfiction best-sellers in The New York Times Book Review.

What is more troubling is the role of the hydra-headed New York Times Company — as book publisher, as syndicator, as newspaper. Specifically:

☐ The origin of the book. According to a story by Carey Winfrey in the Times of February 17, the book was undertaken on the initiative of the Times Company, when the New York Times Syndicate turned down Haldeman's proposal of a foreign-affairs column and instead put Times Books, the publishing subsidiary, on Haldeman's trail. Thomas Lipscomb, president of Times Books, persuaded Haldeman to set aside a manuscript on the Nixon presidency and to work with DiMona on a Watergate book. That project stalled until the Nixon-David Frost interviews, which irked Haldeman. DiMoña talked Haldeman out of sending a forty-page letter to Nixon and into taping two weeks of interviews. These, with other miscellaneous notes and diaries, and a copy of the Nixon tapes, became the basis of the book - a volume that might not have come to be had not Times Books dissuaded Haldeman from his original intentions.

□ The composition of the book. Haldeman entered prison in June 1977 while his book was being drafted by DiMona; he saw a draft in November 1977, three months before publication. In a review in The Boston Globe, Raymond Price, the former Nixon speech writer, observed that by the time the draft was complete "the trade press had already reported syndication sales well up in the hundreds of thousands of dollars. . . . It takes little imagination to visualize the pressure Haldeman was under to make as few changes as possible. Thus we have incident after incident that seem to reach for headlines: speculation, gossip, 'reconstructions' of conversations that 'might' have taken place, all a poor substitute for a book Haldeman might have written." As to its accuracy, Lipscomb was quoted in the Times as saying, "We are not under obligation to check on the accuracy of every

claim or opinion by an author."

□ The marketing. The Times Company asserted a monopoly over every phase of the selling of Haldeman. The New York Times Syndicate Sales Corporation placed excerpts in newspapers and Newsweek magazine for a potential total of \$850,000. A former managing editor of the Times, Clifton Daniel, was called from retirement to edit excerpts (and, later, to defend the book on the Today show). ☐ The newspaper. In the transactions to this point, The New York Times had been a bystander. But it became a customer, one of the newspapers that chose to run excerpts. (In the past, the *Times* had printed serially the memoirs of such figures as Winston Churchill.) The Washington Post incident appeared to focus the Times's attention on the book: it ran its complete set of excerpts on one day, February 17, with two related page-one stories. It promised to check and correct Haldeman's errors (but did notably little after a first story on the Haldeman allegation that Russia had asked the United States to join in an attack on China). It weighed in on February 19 with an editorial charging The Washington Post with a "second-rate burglary." There were subsequently a daily review and a Sunday review of the book, and repeated publication of the Times Books promotional ads billing the book as "the whole truth."

he Times Company can claim — and has — that each of its arms acted independently. This may be literally true. But how is the less discerning public supposed to keep Times interests straight? Did the *Times* editorial on the subject speak from ethical concern or corporate indignation? When a piece of writing is produced by a Times Company subsidiary, which branch's standards of accuracy apply to the work? And is it coincidence that the only Watergate memoir excerpted in the *Times* to that point was produced by Times Books? (And that the next such enterprise, Nixon's *Memoirs*, is being syndicated by the Times Company?) On the inside, perhaps, these may not be regarded as serious problems. To outsiders, they raise serious questions as to which of its many faces the Times Company wishes to turn to the public.

Darts and laurels

Laurel: to the Boston Sunday Globe, for its February 19 revelation of the alarming rate of cancer deaths among Portsmouth Naval Shipyard workers whose jobs brought them into the radiation field of nuclear submarine reactors. Denied requests for information by the United States Navy,

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the *Globe*'s Spotlight Team drew for its study on 100,000 death certificates issued in the area dating back to 1959.

Dart: to the St. Louis Globe-Democrat Sunday Magazine, for its five-page article, "Film is Their Business," a doting feature on the production of the paper's TV spot commercials and the wonderful fun of it all.

Laurel: to Congressional Quarterly service, for "The Last Plantation," a ten-page look at the current push for job protections that congressional employees are now denied. The February 11 article points to biased hiring practices, discriminatory salary scales, unfair grievance procedures, and several other areas in which Congress "has made itself immune from the behavior standards it has decreed for most other citizens."

Dart: to the Providence Journal and reporter John Fitzgerald, for endorsing Ma Bell's communications wares in a March 11 advertising spread in Editor & Publisher. (But what with Gerald Ford as pitchman for the Franklin Mint, O dart, where is thy sting?)

Laurel: to the Minneapolis Star, for an up-front report on March 16 on the testimony of its own publisher, Donald R. Dwight, in a contract-scandal inquiry in far-away Massachusetts, where Dwight had formerly been lieutenant-governor.

Laurel: to Fortune and writer Carol J. Loomis, for a March 13 article, "Bill Miller's Hot Record as a Money Manager," one of the rare discussions of the new Fed chairman's performance as head of Textron.

Dart: to the Northern Virginia Sun, for the headline DID HE PROMOTE HER TO GLORY? over its March 3 report on the arrest of a Salvation Army commander charged with murdering his wife.

Laurel: to The New York Times, and reporters John Herbers, Jon Nordheimer, Paul Delaney, and Michael Sterne, for "Two Societies," a tenth-anniversary follow-up to the Kerner Commission's 1968 report on civil disorders. The four-part series, which began February 26, provided a sobering analysis of the continuing divisions between black and white Americans.

Dart: to the New York Daily News and staff photographer Tom Monaster. Stalking designer Calvin Klein as he talked on February 3 in a phone booth to his daughter's kidnappers and again at the time of her safe return, the photographer could have jeopardized the delicate situation.

Laurel: to reporter Joseph Albright of The Atlanta Constitution, for dramatizing the laxity of the security system at two American nuclear weapons depots by describing himself as a contractor and touring the secret sites. The only identification required: a social-security number and his

driver's license. (Epilogue: two weeks after the January 8 story appeared, the conscientious Army Corps of Engineers mailed to Albright seventeen revised blueprints marked "Important — this is an addendum to an invitation for bids previously furnished your office.")



Laurel: to Joe DeMaria and the New York Post, for this quietly eloquent picture taken on March 9 in the aftermath of a Brooklyn fire.

A virtual blizzard

When a white blanket covered New York last January 20, citizens were naturally curious to know what had happened. Some sought to find out in *The New York Times* the next morning.

"The blizzard yesterday turned the country's largest city into a virtual ghost town," they learned. It brought "transportation, business and government to a virtual standstill," and only emergency surgery was performed at "virtually all" hospitals.

The city was not alone. "Virtually all bus service was halted" on Long Island; "Westchester and Rockland Counties came to a virtual halt"; Connecticut was "virtually paralyzed," and its main parkways were "virtually impassable." "Virtually impassable." too, were all major routes into and around Boston. And the storm not only "virtually immobilized" New Jersey but also "caused a virtual halt to commerce in a state that boasts a \$200 million-a-day economy."

In short, nothing quite happened, but quite a lot virtually did.

John L. Hess

Silencing federal employees

As a condition of employment, all C.I.A. employees sign an agreement stating that they will never disclose information about the agency without its approval. President Carter's Justice Department, whose record on civil liberties has thus far been none too good, has decided to submit the agreement to a court test by filing a civil suit against Frank Snepp, a former C.I.A. intelligence analyst who wrote a book about the American evacuation from Saigon that was published without agency clearance. The government has asked for monetary damages (including the book's royalties) and an injunction against Snepp to prevent him from violating the agreement in the future.

In the book, *Decent Interval*, Snepp described what he regarded as monumental bungling during the evacuation of Saigon, when thousands of Vietnamese who had cooperated with the agency were left behind. The book was edited, printed, and distributed to bookstores in virtual secrecy by Random House in order to avoid a pre-publication suit similar to the one the C.I.A. filed against another former employee, Victor Marchetti, whose book, the agency claimed,

The Pinto story: the press in low gear

onsider the British subject browsing through his paper of a wintry Sunday morn. Attracted to a pageone story in the February 9 edition of the London Sunday Times headlined THE ARITHMETIC THAT COST £66M, he would have learned that a California jury had awarded one Richard Grimshaw \$128 million in compensatory and punitive damages for burns suffered when the Ford Pinto in which he had been riding burst into flames after a minor accident. Were he a bit uncertain of the meaning of "punitive," he would have been instructed as to its implication of conscious and wilful knowledge on the part of the company in disregarding the safety of the people who bought its product. Reading on, he would have seen a diagram describing the model's susceptibility to gas-tank explosion on rear-end impact. He would have read the testimony of a former company engineer explaining that a simple safety design modification costing less than \$11 a car had been rejected by company managers wary of pricing the Pinto out of the lucrative compact market. And he would have seen a reproduction of a confidential company memo that had convinced the jury to make the record award: calculations estimating the comparative costs between the benefits to society in saving the lives of the 180 people who were likely to be burned to death and preventing 180 more from receiving severe burns (\$49.5 million), and the cost of altering its product to conform to safety standards (\$137 million), as well as its engineers' bottom-line conclusion that the modifications would not be "cost effective." The

Pinto, incidentally, has never been sold in Great Britain.

Meanwhile, across the Atlantic — where two-and-a-half million Pintos currently are on the road - how fared our British reader's American counterpart? Here the press had seized on the Pinto story with less enthusiasm. Most papers relied on the thirteen-paragraph Associated Press story that had moved out of Santa Ana on February 7, printing severely truncated versions. The New York Times, for example, gave the story 275 words on the bottom of page 26, where an attentive reader might have picked up the oblique reference to the fact that the car had failed five crash tests. The Louisville Times used 125 words, including a couple about "faulty welding." The Milwaukee Journal's 100 words were even more coy: not a single hint of possible defectiveness, let alone corporate culpability. Still, it told readers more than did the Baltimore Sun, which all but ignored the story — although the Sun did produce, two days later on February 9, a lyrical 28-inch feature on the steadfast reliability of the family Pinto during a recent snowstorm (REMEMBER BALTO AND THE SERUM? THIS IS ABOUT PINTO IN THE SNOW).

There were exceptions. The Miami Herald's account was careful to explain the implications of the confusing legalese: that the jury had "agreed with charges by Grimshaw's lawyer that Ford was negligent in designing the cars and that it failed to correct a major fire hazard after it was discovered in company crash tests in 1970"; and, unlike most other accounts, the Herald's went on to acknowledge Mark Dowie's article in the September/October 1977 issue of Mother Jones magazine, which had documented the Pinto story ("Darts and Laurels" CJR, November/ December). Jeffrey Perlman's by-lined story in the Los Angeles Times was even

contained classified information. A Court of Appeals in 1975 upheld the C.I.A., and the Supreme Court refused to review that decision; the book, *The C.I.A.* and the Cult of *Intelligence*, was eventually published—with 168 deletions.

Snepp argues that his case is different from Marchetti's: what he wrote divulged no classified information and was no threat to national security. (So far the government has not disputed that claim.) What is being tested, therefore, Snepp argues, is the government's right to silence criticism by asking its employees for a lifetime waiver of their First Amendment rights as a condition of employment.

Perhaps the courts would look more kindly on Snepp if he had not violated a contract. But the case does have disturbing implications for the flow of information about the actions of government. If the right of government to require prior approval of the public utterances of employees (and to punish those who do speak out) extends beyond classified material and beyond national-security considerations, what is to prevent, say, the National Park Service or the Department of Agriculture from requiring a similar oath in order to avoid embarrassing public disclosures? Some limits on this governmental power are clearly necessary, and those limits seem to have been exceeded in the Snepp case.

more explicit, clarifying the charges of "wrongful death" and claims that Ford "had deliberately fitted Pinto cars with poorly designed gas tanks which ruptured upon light impact," and mentioning the \$10-a-car adjustment that could have been made to alleviate the problem, but wasn't. Neither did the Detroit papers hang back: the Free Press's account was clear and complete, with references both to the Mother Jones article and Ralph Nader's earlier criticisms of the Pinto design; readers of the Detroit News were similarly well served with the complete A.P. story on February 7 and a dramatic follow-up on February 19 headlined FORD KNEW PEOPLE WOULD BE KILLED - JUROR TELLING OF \$125 MIL-LION AWARD. This last was a reprint of Roy Harris, Jr.'s impressive piece in The Wall Street Journal of February 14 headlined WHY THE PINTO JURY FELT FORD DESERVED \$125 MILLION PENALTY, an in-depth report based on interviews with the jurors who had made the unprecedented award. Harris's article described the oral testimony, company records, test-crash films, and emotional reactions of the jurors, as well as the logic by which they arrived at the \$125 million: since the company had saved \$100 million by not installing safe gas tanks, they reasoned, an award of anything less would not be truly punitive. (On March 30, however, an appellate judge ruled that \$3.8 million was punitive enough.) Other papers picking up the Harris article included The Washington Post and the Los Angeles Herald-Examiner.

On the network evening news shows, too, there was little uniformity in handling the story. On CBS, Walter Cronkite delivered a seven-sentence model of conciseness that touched the key points at issue. On ABC, Harry Reasoner and Jim Mitchell gave the story extended play, with inter-

Publishers' libel insurance: authors

Newspapers usually will defend their reporters against libel suits, and the news organizations, not the journalists, will pay the bills, including both legal costs and any damages awarded. Astonishingly, those who write books have no such protection. It is the practice among book publishers to include in authors' contracts a clause releasing the publishers from most or all responsibility in the event of libel suits. (Specifically, the author warrants that his or her book is not libelous and indemnifies, or promises to protect, the publisher from any expenses resulting from a failure in that warranty.)

Last March the 5,000-member Authors Guild, headquartered in New York, began a campaign to persuade publishers to accept legal responsibility for what they publish. The guild contends not only that the indemnity clauses are unfair, which they obviously are, but that they are unconstitutional under the First Amendment and illegal under state insurance and federal antitrust statutes. The clauses

views with Grimshaw and film clips of a test crash; in effect, its February 7 report was a follow-up to a strong segment dealing with the Pinto problem on its February 2 newscast, in which science reporter Jules Bergman had reported categorically that "Ford engineers knew about the Pinto hazards at least seven years ago. The evidence is in a Ford internal memo, acquired by ABC News. . . . Ford refuses to comment, won't let us film inside a Pinto production plant, and has denied that Pinto is any more dangerous than other cars." On the *NBC Nightly News*, however, it was a different story — or more precisely, none at all.

he newsweeklies were also of two minds about it. Time backed into it on February 20, using the Pinto case as a peg for a full-page "Law" piece on the alarming trend to "rapidly inflating jury awards" and the "chorus of protests" against them. Newsweek, for its part, did even less, skipping it altogether.

How well — or how poorly — our hypothetical American citizen was served in receiving information involving the quintessential American corporation and its quintessential American product, then, appears to have been largely an accident of geography and of viewing and reading habits, combined, of course, with varying amounts of judgment, responsibility, and delicacy on the part of the press. If he lived in Los Angeles, watched Reasoner and Walters, and/or subscribed to *The Wall Street Journal*, chances are that he would have had a pretty good notion of what the Pinto story was all about. But if he happened to live in Baltimore, was a Chancellor-Brinkley fan, and followed *Newsweek* — well, he would have been a lot better off, at least in this particular case, with a newsbundle from Britain.

violate the First Amendment, the guild argues, because they encourage self-censorhip; they may violate state insurance laws because authors, who are not licensed insurors, are in effect asked to insure publishers against libel; and they may violate antitrust laws because all publishers insist on essentially the same clause in their contracts with authors.

Publishers are almost sure to resist ending an arrangement that is so much to their advantage. They may be expected to argue that the fear of libel will make them hesitate to publish books that they might otherwise have published; or that authors who don't have to pay for libel suits may write more recklessly; or that because publishers make more inviting targets for libel suits, costs will rise and there will be less money for authors and higher book prices.

But nothing can really justify asking authors alone to be financially responsible for the companies that seek to profit from their writing. Publishers are able to spread their risks among the books on their lists, and they can afford adequate libel insurance. The Authors Guild is right: publishers should stand behind their writers, even when it may cost them money.

For the sake of argument

Fifty years or so after it became technically possible, the United States Senate opened its floor to radio and, starting on February 8, let its debate on the Panama Canal treaties be carried on National Public Radio. The Senate may have feared that the public would find such direct exposure disillusioning; *Broadcasting* magazine quoted an "old hand" as saying, "If N.P.R. ever had any listeners, they're going to lose them."

Such was not to be the case. Although the debate was, by conventional programming standards, slow, cluttered, and repetitious, it seemed to exercise a fascination. A telephone survey indicated that N.P.R. outlets in New York, Washington, and Los Angeles had quintupled their normal audience size. Why? Beyond the issue itself, there was also perhaps an interest in hearing an issue thoroughly argued by those charged with deciding it — this in contrast with the essentially idle journalist-official confrontations that usually pass for broadcast discussion. Here, for better or worse, in their full array of regional accents and outlooks, were senators in their own element, but possibly performing a little better than usual because of the new audience.

The history-minded must naturally wonder what debates listeners have missed over the years because radio was absent: over Franklin D. Roosevelt's Supreme Court packing proposal, over isolation and intervention early in World War II, over the censure of Joseph R. McCarthy, over the Tonkin Gulf resolution.

Television is the next step; it is almost ready to enter the House of Representatives. This time, let's hope, the Senate will not be so tardy.

Gossip as news

A comment in the January/February *Review* described how rumor became news during the climax of New York City's mayoral campaign. Since then, and on a grander scale, gossip has ballooned into news.

The gossip was that presidential aide Hamilton Jordan had behaved with extreme rudeness to an ambassador's wife at a Washington party and to a woman at a Washington singles bar. Both bits of gossip were thinly substantiated. Both first appeared in *The Washington Post*. And both served as pegs for a spate of news stories, editorial comment, and magazine articles on Jordan's abilities as an aide to the president and, by extension, on President Carter's sagacity.

"Send in the Clowns" could have been the theme song of those silly winter days. White House press secretary Jody Powell conferred news value on the second gossip story by releasing a document that included the twenty-four-pagelong transcript of a deposition taken by a White House lawyer from a singles-bar bartender. Such silliness proved contagious. In a March 28 Esquire article entitled "Hamilton Jordan: A Slob in the White House," Aaron Latham spent a dozen paragraphs attempting to demonstrate the effect on Jordan's character of his having worn corrective shoes by day and leg braces by night during his youth. The piece — which Latham fleshed out with loose talk by psychiatrists and others — should, by rights, receive one of Esquire's annual Dubious Achievements Awards.

Sane comment on gossip-mongering by the press appeared, in due course, in *The Washington Post*, its recent wellspring. In his March 4 column, Charles B. Seib, the paper's ombudsman, wrote: "An anything-goes attitude toward gossip items not only can hurt individuals personally and destroy their effectiveness in their jobs. It can also undermine the credibility of the press itself, which is none too steady to begin with."

Seib's summation was sound. Whether it will be taken to heart at the *Post* or elsewhere is an open question. Judicious comment such as Seib's confers respectability on a paper, but gossip sells papers, or so they say.

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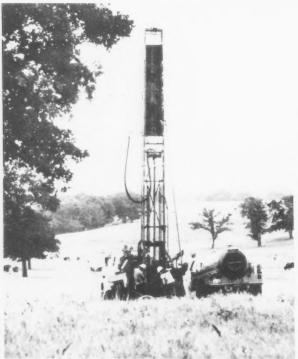
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Conservation around the home could cut energy consumption by 14%.

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The Performance Company



TV is not the world

By exaggerating the power of television, its critics slight reality and evade the real issues of TV reform

by JEFF GREENFIELD

mericans approach television the way the Lilliputians must have approached Gulliver. Its presence among us, its size and reach, is undeniable. The numbers alone are staggering: more than 115 million sets in use; seventy million households with television, a reach unequaled by any other medium of communication, including the telephone and the newspaper; more than \$6 billion spent each year on advertising on television. It must have been difficult for the Lilliputians to avoid ascribing every new event in their lives to the presence of this giant. Gulliver cast a giant shadow; but did he produce every solar eclipse? Gulliver in the water produced mighty waves; but did he control the tides?

These questions arise because four recent books suggest

that there is developing in our public debate an obsession with television that in my view distorts our understanding of our society and jeopardizes the opportunities for changing that society. These books are, in varying degrees, perceptive and obtuse; thoughtful and thoughtless; provoking and exasperating. But each of them, to one degree or another, suggests that what has happened *since* the advent of television has happened *because* of television. Were these volumes sold together, they could be included under the overarching title: *Post Hoc, Ergo Propter Hoc.*

The general tone of these works can be fairly gleaned from the titles: Four Arguments for the Elimination of Television, The Plug-In Drug, Remote Control, The Show and Tell Machine. Television, then, is a drug; it is used to manipulate us by remote, malevolent forces; it is a machine designed to seize our minds. There is not a single helpful idea about how to make television better in any of the

Jeff Greenfield, a free-lance writer and former media consultant, is the author of Television: the First Fifty Years (Abrams).





That these books could build such remarkably heavy-handed cases against TV is a measure of the low estate in which many of us hold it?

books, and indeed, at least three of the volumes would explicitly deny that television is reformable at all. Frank Mankiewicz and Joel Swerdlow, in Remote Control (Times Books), devote half a page to encouraging "a more muscular" Federal Communications Commission, but proudly assert that they have no agenda for reform — as if the absence of an idea to re-shape the most powerful instrument in modern American life were an asset. In The Show and Tell Machine (Dial), Rose Goldsen is content to tell us how malevolently effective television is in molding the consciousness of Americans. In The Plug-In Drug (Viking), Marie Winn encourages parents to wean children from the narcotic of television, and at one point congratulates television for not making better shows for children - since her central thesis is that it is the act of watching per se, rather than the content, that harms children. In Four Arguments for the Elimination of Television (William Morrow), Jerry Mander "certainly cannot answer [the] question" of how the elimination should be carried out, although he has spent more than 350 frequently fascinating pages telling us that television is a clear and present danger to our health, liberty, and sanity.

Indeed, after reading these books, one is tempted to identify another danger of television: that it paralyzes otherwise sensible people into complete helplessness, while at the same time stimulating them to accuse it of the most astonishing things. Marie Winn often does her accusing with rhetorical questions. Raising the possibility that television may physically alter our brains, she writes, "Just as the lungs of a chain smoker are demonstrably different from a

non-smoker's lungs, is it not possible that the brain of a [twelve-year-old heavy TV viewer] is in specific ways different from the brain of a child who has watched little or no television?" Or later, "Is it merely a coincidence that the entry of television into the American homes brought in its wake one of the worst epidemics of juvenile violence in the nation's history?" (Is it not possible that these kinds of disguised assertions are poor substitutes for research?)

erry Mander, in a chapter devoted to speculating on the potential dangers of artificial light and to deploring the lack of hard research on the physiological effects of direct light, manages to suggest that TVwatching may cause cancer - not from the radiation of color television, mind you, but from the light itself. Mankiewicz and Swerdlow tell us that because New Jersey has no V.H.F. television station, "corruption is more likely to flourish." This will surprise the several dozen ex-New Jersey officials who were thrown into prison by three aggressive U.S. attorneys, as well as the citizens of Philadelphia and Chicago, whose TV stations have not yet wiped out corruption in those two communities. Mankiewicz and Swerdlow also begin Remote Control with a list of real-life crimes and other depredations that followed televised crimes and violence - although these authors would instantly recognize the fallacy of this argument if it were applied, say, to the supposed consequences of "dangerous" political speech. Rose Goldsen manages to include in The Show and Tell Machine a ringing denunciation of rock and roll music without acknowledging that this subculture was





virtually banned from television until its dominance over popular music in the middle 1950s became inevitable.

None of this is to suggest that television is in any sense a healthy or liberating medium. That these books could build such remarkably heavy-handed cases against TV is a measure of the low estate in which many of us hold television. But the questions these books do *not* address are, in my view, at least as important as the ones they do speak to:

- ☐ In what specific ways is television different from the other instruments of popular culture?
- ☐ What changes in American life can *fairly* be ascribed to television?
- ☐ What *specifically* can be done to change the medium?

Most of what we see on television is rubbish. Granted. Stipulated. So are most books. So are most movies. So are most plays. So are most magazines. So are most newspapers.

There is too much gratuitous violence on television. Granted. Stipulated, although there is less physical violence on television now than at any time in its history. (Some critics have now begun to talk about psychic violence, by which they mean threatening situations or nasty looks, but there's not as much actual gunplay in prime-time network TV now in one week as there was in one Hopalong Cassidy episode in the late 1940s.) Further, the violence on television cannot begin to rival, say, a Sonny Chiba martial arts movie, or a black exploitation film, much less one of those grand Tales from the Crypt horror comics, which featured dismembered bodies and lovingly illustrated tales of cannibalism. (Those comics were sanitized to death in the early 1950s after a prominent psychologist blamed them for the rise in juvenile delinquency.)

Much of TV news is simplified to the point of distortion, or dispensed by Harry Hairspray-show-biz types who couldn't tell a news lead from a shopping circular. Granted. Stipulated, although there is more "soft news" in the aver-

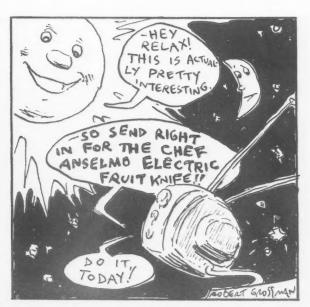
age newspaper than on the worst local newscast. At least, I have not yet seen lotteries or comic strips on a news program, and nothing that Geraldo Rivera or Tom Snyder ever said or did can match, say, the *New York Post* in its "Son of Sam" frenzy for sheer journalistic ghastliness.

Television often projects poor social values. Granted, although the excessively-brutal-or-trampling-on-the-Constitution cop is increasingly a relic, and cannot be compared to the movies' Dirty Harry or Freebie and the Bean. And no slick sit-com could come close to Fun With Dick and Jane for amoral cynicism (it's okay to hold up recordstore employees at gunpoint because big corporations give bribes: that's as close as I can come to a coherent message of that film).

hat makes television so susceptible to criticism, such a source of concern and fear, is not that it does any one job worse than its forebears. I sat "hypnotized" and trance-like for six hours for a hundred Saturdays of my life, watching monsters and spaceships and cowboys spilling blood as if it were beer at a Texas football game. The racism and misogyny of TV's early days were more than equaled by the slick short stories of mass magazines of forty years ago (how many nappy-haired porters shuffled and chuckled; how many woman-child housewives were tamed by a sound spanking from their out-of-patience husbands?). What makes television so frightening is that it performs all the functions that used to be scattered among different sources of information and entertainment, and it performs all these functions under the control of an almost total monopoly.

In the days before television became the dominant institution in American life, we used to get our news primarily from newspapers, supplemented by newsmagazines and photojournals such as *Life*. Our sit-coms and pop dramas came to us through the slick magazines, and through radio dramas and comedies, and from the movies, which were





★Television is organized the way the steel, auto, rubber, and packaged-food industries are organized

seen by the average American at least once a week. The children had early evening radio, Saturday morning movies, and comic books. Television has collapsed *all* these functions within that single box. And to a remarkable extent these functions are *all* performed by three networks, which are extensions of three highly profitable corporations whose own revenues, in turn, come from the most powerful corporate interests in American life.

It is this aspect of television's control over our culture that makes it so powerful, and so disturbing — not the content, which is if anything less offensive than the typical movie or comic book of a generation ago. (In The Show and Tell Machine, Rose Goldsen shows a complete lack of recognition that every television sit-com and drama is directly rooted in the popular culture of the last forty years. She seems to think that soap operas and domestic comedies all sprang full-blown from the coaxial cable. This assumption greatly diminishes the credibility of the book.) There is no way around the advertiser-sponsored (or corporation-underwritten), network-supplied access to national television. There is no off-Broadway, no small publishing house, no off-beat newspaper or magazine, no independent film maker who every once in a while breaks through the cultural mainstream to become an important national voice. What TV concentrates, in a way that no other medium could ever hope to do, is access. Whether you want to talk politics, or sell a new product, or sing a new song, or make children laugh or think, either you get the approval of NBC, CBS, ABC, or PBS, or to a substantial extent you don't do it on nationwide television.

Consider the implications of this oligopoly. Does it make television different from other industries in America, some of which are exceptionally clever and malevolent concentrations of power? Of course not. It makes television an accurate reflection of the way business runs. It is organized the way the steel, auto, rubber, and packaged-food industries are organized.

Norman Lear made this point in an interview with me in 1975. "Television." he said, "is criticized way out of proportion because of its visibility. It's run just like any other big industry. If cars with heavy chrome sold last year, that's what G.M. and Ford and Chrysler are going to give you this year. If the big oil companies were selling you an additive last year, they're going to find another additive-plus this year and they're going to raise prices again. They're going to do what they can within the economic system to improve their profits and to continue giving the public what it seemed to want last year. And so with television. The public wants diversion, and if violence is what's available, that's what they'll turn on."

It is this precise point that renders television essentially unlike the sources of popular culture in the past. Jerry Mander's most fascinating arguments in *Four Arguments* center on the way in which television both reflects and assists the process of corporate concentration, but they too quickly disappear in his wholesale assault on the modern technological environment in general. Basically, nothing we see on television is in any way, shape, or form, different from or worse than what any other instrument of communication has given us. The difference is the remarkable concentration of power, in the service of maximizing profits both for those who run the networks and for those who use the networks to sell us goods and services.

o say that life has changed since the introduction of television is an insight on a par with "television is a visual medium." The difficulty lies in isolating those changes that can fairly be laid to television and those that reflect much deeper changes in American life.

This exercise seems to be too much for our authors; their preference seems to be for a bald assertion that television is responsible for change in American life because it was there, and America changed, therefore, Q.E.D. (Mankiewicz and Swerdlow suggest that television triggered both the civil-rights revolution and the backlash, and that irresponsible TV reporting about busing helped destroy a "promising tool." The people of South Boston, whatever the justice or injustice of their cause, did not need television to tell them they were opposed to busing.)

Sometimes, the assertions make no sense at all, when laid beside recent history. Both Goldsen and Marie Winn are absolutely certain that television is a hypnotic, pacifying "drug," reducing children to robot-like acceptance of the status quo and to happy inclusion into the corporateconsumer frame of mind. This is an interesting notion; one wonders why the first generation of television viewers turned into the most raucous, dissident, anti-corporate generation this nation had ever seen. Whichever Orwellian genius, whichever advertising-motivational research whiz programmed the children of the 1950s to become the young men and women of Berkeley and Columbia and Jackson State, should have been drummed out of his profession and sentenced to a lifetime of Flintstones re-runs. Similarly, the device that was supposed to turn us all into armchair spectators instead now exists side by side with an unprecedented explosion of physical fitness. And Jerry Mander's notion that television is the latest step in the modern world's separation of man and his natural sensory gifts seems puzzling in light of a widespread rediscovery of everything from backpacking to real food.

My own notion is that this obsession with the power of television can hide the fact that there is a reality "out there," independent of what we watch on television, and that the American public still knows how to find that reality,

no matter how many hours of television it watches. The younger generation of the 1960s opposed the Vietnam war because it was a stupid one, and because the draft threatened them with death in pursuit of that war's foggy aims. The younger generation of the 1970s is far quieter because there is no war and no draft. Recognizing this reality is more important than attempting, as our authors do, to chart the mood of the younger generation on the basis of prime-time television programs. Similarly, the decline in public trust since 1964, which Mankiewicz and Swerdlow ascribe in large measure to television (they give one paragraph to Vietnam, Watergate, and C.I.A.-F.B.I. revelations), happened because events of the 1960s — not just the reporting of those events, but the objective reality of them — caused our trust in our institutions to be shaken. The war, the unprecedented domestic violence in our cities and on our campuses, the widening cultural rift between generations, and the presence of two successive presidents who chose to lie - clumsily - to America explains a lot more than the distorted portrayal of doctors, lawyers, and cops on television. (Was Marcus Welby more distorted than Dr. Kildare?) One can argue that "it was television" that showed us the war and domestic violence, but that kind of argument really confuses the messenger with the message.

Even those areas where television may be more directly responsible for the change in American life are more complicated than these authors seem to suppose. Marie Winn suggests — fairly, I think — that television-watching has left our children with no free time, no hours to make up their own games, while learning to live with each other. But it's also true that the Age of Television arrived simultaneously with the massive suburbanization of American life, a result of the desperate hunger after World War II for an end to compulsory collective experiences, and for isolated, atomized privacy and a one-third-acre lot of one's own. That movement, in turn, left our cities increasingly poor, increasingly peopled by a cultural-racial underclass, increasingly violent. And as between suburban sterility and urban danger, the pleasures of independent play may be less appealing than late-afternoon television — especially with the movement of millions of mothers into the work force.

It seems to me undeniably true that television has produced, or has helped to produce, some important changes in the way we live. The sharp decline in reading skills among students almost certainly reflects the way in which television communicates ideas, although this need not be inevitable. One of the best chapters in Remote Control deals with the way some schools are using TV scripts and videotape playback to increase students' interest in, and ability at, reading. And both in Remote Control and in Four Arguments there are important reflections on the medium's influence on politics. (Mankiewicz, who played an important role in the campaigns of Robert Kennedy and George McGovern, shows how whole campaigns are bent to the demands of television, and Mander explores how - and why - products and lifeless objects are easier to "sell" than complicated ideas.)

But perhaps one of the most important ways in which television has changed America is in persuading us to become hypnotized by the putative power and pervasiveness of television itself. It brings to mind a scene from Catch-22, where Yossarian's beleaguered pilots must embark on a perilous bombing run because the line on the map shows that Piamosa is still in enemy hands. Late at night, someone sneaks over to the map and moves the line - and the bombing run is canceled. There seems to be an unspoken premise that we can define reality by looking at what is on television; and that therefore the way to change reality is to change what we see on television. You cannot find a political movement these days that does not list "media distortions" as a principal preoccupation. Last fall, a gay-rights task force took out an ad in Variety demanding that a gay character on Soap be changed to make him more proud of his sexual preference. And no less an authority than the U.S. Civil Rights Commission noted that Edith Bunker always fetched Archie a beer on All in the Family, and that Mary Tyler Moore's character always called Lou Grant "Mr. Grant" while everyone else called him "Lou." And what are we to make of the national Parent-Teachers Association which, in a time of unprecedented illiteracy among students and crises in school security and financing, makes violence on television its number-one priority?

hat all this suggests, I believe, is a failure of political will, a resignation in the face of difficulties that appear too complicated, too distant, for us to resolve. Our most intense political dramas — Vietnam, Watergate — are over. What remain are dilemmas that go to the heart of how this country works: who has power? Who has wealth? Is it distributed fairly? How do we open up jobs and access to power for those left out? How do we meld individual freedom with a sense of family and communal obligation?

We do not have many political forces capable of even suggesting answers to these questions, because we have never felt the need to talk about the recipe when there was, or seemed to be, enough pie to go around. What television criticism represents, I am suggesting, is a way of avoiding these hard questions. Instead of organizing, or studying, or lobbying, or trying to convince the public of the need for major changes in how we live, interest groups can attack the way they are portrayed on television. God knows, it's easy enough to find distortions and banalities on TV, and it's certainly easier than challenging entrenched power.

What makes this tendency even more remarkable is that, since television itself is organized along the same lines of corporate concentration as other major blocs of our economy, there is *indeed* an "agenda for reform" that goes to the heart of how television is organized and that may indeed make television a far more democratic tool than is now the case. But this reform depends on identifying with some precision how we could redesign access to broadcasting.

Every treatise on television — my own included — makes the seminal point that in commercial television the product is *not* the program; the program is the bait to attract the real product sold by television networks and stations, which is the audience. The consumers of the audience, of course, are

The possibilities for government action to alter the nature of the controls over television are enormous?

the advertisers, who buy the audience's attention.

Each of these books makes the strongest impression when probing this central fact of broadcast life. The Show and Tell Machine has absorbing material on how advertisers research the buying habits of children, the better to sell them products. Remote Control has first-rate material on the near-conspiratorial cooperation between the F.C.C. and their "client" networks when the "Family Hour" doctrine was formulated. And Jerry Mander, who was a brilliant advertising strategist and later a media adviser to environment, peace, and other liberal causes, has excellent material in Four Arguments about the incredible imbalance exemplified by the ability of a single advertiser to buy the right to project the same image or message into the minds of millions of viewers over and over again.

Yet none of these books tells us what we might do about the stark facts that our major instrument of entertainment and news is geared to the direct financial interest of the largest corporations in the United States, and that the possession of huge sums of money is the dominant method of access to this instrument. It is as if our Lilliputians, having discovered that Gulliver was consuming a third of the food output of the island, either declared that he should go away, or else merely reminded each other that this was indeed a huge and fearsome giant.

Commercial broadcasting, after all, is a publicly licensed, federally regulated business, with clearly established (if rarely enforced) mechanisms for denying the license to broadcast if "the public interest" is not served. The possibilities for government action to alter the nature of the controls over television are enormous. Let me suggest a few, some of which are already underway:

☐ A partial or total prohibition of advertising during those hours when young children form the bulk of the audience. The Federal Trade Commission is already considering this action

☐ An antitrust suit to force the networks to sell off the stations they own and operate. Right now, each of the three networks owns five V.H.F. stations; all three own stations in New York, Los Angeles, and Chicago. Should suppliers of programming also have instant control over a quarter of the American viewing population?

☐ Another antitrust action to force the networks to drop their rule excluding free-lance news and public-affairs shows. Right now, the three networks will, in almost all cases, run only news and public-affairs shows that are produced by their own news departments. The ostensible reason is to protect themselves from the consequences of distorted news. The effect is yet another example of concentrating, and limiting, the flow of information. (Frank Mankiewicz helped to produce a documentary about Cuba some years back. He and his colleagues interviewed Castro,

only to be blocked from a national audience by restrictive network rules.)

□ A strong commitment, including financial, to the growth of cable in all its forms. The Small Business Administration is beginning to move into the media field to encourage minorities to enter the communications industry. Cable and pay-cable represent the most practical, currently available method we have to diversify what we see on television. And the growth of pay-cable in all its forms — subscription television or program-by-program fees — is one way to create the markets for offbeat, minority-taste programming that network domination of television now hinders.

□ A restriction on the number of hours any licensee can use a channel. There is no reason why Channel 2 in New York must be programmed from dawn to dawn, seven days a week, by the same corporation, particularly when a broadcast band represents a government-licensed monopoly of a terribly scarce and enormously valuable "property." There is no reason why licenses should not be shared, with different groups of suppliers alternating time periods, days of the week, or weekends. A division of available broadcast time — at least until cable becomes the dominant form of receiving television signals — would by itself help make television more democratic.

he question, of course, is how to apply the political muscle to make such changes. At least a few years ago, a working majority of members of Congress were tied, either directly or through law firms, to broadcast interests; these ties do not make them sympathetic to ideas which would lessen the windfall profits of station licensees. Bringing about such changes will require the same kind of political effort required to insure the bargaining rights of labor organizations, or the voting rights of black Southerners, or the employment rights of women. The fight, in other words, is political, and it can neither be won nor even waged by scrutinizing the television screen for clues to the collective unconscious or for new signs of media distortions of how we live.

The effort to make television a less cynical medium, in other words, is very much like the effort to apply public constraints on other sources of private power, be they bankers, labor-union officials, oil companies, or foundations. The effort requires enough will to turn off the television set and to begin recognizing, and changing, reality. Everyone now understands that television is a tool of great power. The paradox is that the only way to really bring that power to bear is to stop pretending that the power is greater than it really is. There is a world beyond the reach of *Kojak* and *Happy Days* and Mr. Whipple; and it is in that world that the fight between private power and public accountability will be won or lost.

CDN: what we'll miss about the Chicago Daily News

The nostalgic may recall its Front Page days, but journalism still needs its kind of overseas reporting

by DONALD R. SHANOR

hen the Chicago Daily News ended its 102-year existence on March 4, much was written about the Front Page kind of journalism the paper represented: Ben Hecht himself, as a young reporter, and the tough city hall and police beat men who covered and investigated the gangs and the corruption.

This is about Page Two. On the other side of the seventy-two point banners and the front-page sensations was the foreign-news page, as much an institution as the *Daily News*'s thorough reporting of the city.

"It was a source of education to me in the early 1930s when your great Page 2 contained columns written by the brothers Edgar Ansel and Paul Mowrer, and Paul Ghali and others of equal skill and knowledge," a reader wrote in the final letters to the editor page. "They taught me much about international affairs so that one could foretell what the 1940s were sure to bring us."

Ordinary readers, citizens' groups, students, academics, and civic leaders paid attention to Page Two over two

generations and more. Diplomats and journalists in Washington and abroad were also familiar with the page and the Daily News foreign service that produced it. Editors across the nation — 117 at its peak — used the service's daily wire.

That all this was swept away by the economic and technological considerations of putting out an afternoon paper in a changing metropolitan area is clear. Equally clear, however, is that Chicago's need for such a window to the world is as great, or greater, in the 1970s than it was in the 1930s, and that applies as well to the *Daily News* wire service subscribers and their readers.

The Mowrer brothers won Pulitzer prizes for reporting and interpreting the rise of Mussolini and Hitler; Ghali's greatest diplomatic reporting coup was to persuade the widow of Count Ciano, the Italian foreign minister, to hand over his diaries for publication at the end of World War II.

More Pulitzers followed: George Weller's, for a World War II account of an appendectomy performed by amateurs on a submarine; Keyes Beech's for Korean War coverage. Bill Stoneman's career encompassed war reporting and a wound in World War II, a leave of absence to help Trygve Lie in the first years of the U.N., the formation of NATO and the Common Market, and the Paris Vietnam peace talks. Beech, close to retirement, hung on in Saigon until the end, and then climbed the Embassy compound fence with men half his age to escape in one of the last helicopters.

Now much of the news from abroad is about the price of crude oil, gold, or coffee, the fluctuations of the yen and the dollar, the bewildering ideological varieties of European and Asian communism, steel dumping, textile quotas. There is still the occasional drama of a

hijacking or terrorist attack, of course, and the continuing puzzle of the conversion of middle-class young men and women into urban guerrillas and kidnappers.

Hitler's torchlight parades and blueprints for conquest seem straightforward by contrast. This is not intended as nostalgia. The point is that the world is a more complicated place than it ever was, and more than ever those complications in distant countries affect Americans as much as they do the citizens of those places, whether it is in fuel bills or the closings of steel mills. And as we become more dependent on other nations' political and economic decisions, we have fewer qualified people in those places helping us to understand those decisions.

ifteen years ago, the picture looked much brighter. The New York Herald Tribune's reporters found themselves out of work about then, true, but The New York Times and Chicago Daily News were joined in the foreign wire-service field by the revitalized staffs of The Washington Post and the Los Angeles Times. With the contributions of The Christian Science Monitor and the Chicago Tribune-New York Daily News service, not to mention the unsyndicated Baltimore Sun, that constituted quite a range of news and analysis.

The wire services apparently thought so. U.P.I. and the A.P. responded to the competition by expanding their interpretive and background writing, using idle night and weekend wire time to deliver the kind of one- or two-thousand word pieces that newspapers were beginning to run under Los Angeles Times or Washington Post credit lines.

Nevertheless, the wire services were

Donald R. Shanor, an associate professor of journalism at Columbia, was a Chicago Daily News correspondent in eastern Europe, Germany, and the Middle East.

So long, Chicago



took 102 years to finish, and these are the final pages of The Chicago Daily News.

By M. W. Newman

The Chicago Daily News, the riters' newspaper, ends as it egan—a momentous Book of Life. It took 102 years to finish. and these are the final pages.

But the story isn't over-just The Daily News' part of it. A newspaper dies, but newspapering goes on. Life goes on. Tomorrow is the sequel, and all the tomorrows after that.

We die knowing we did our job to the utmost and to the very end. To today, in fact, precisely 102 years, 2 months and 12 days after founder Melville E. Stone ran off the first issue on a rickety press rented for \$12 a

Stone's Daily News burst out of the gaslight age, when Ulysses S. Grant was brooding in the White House and Line dead just 10 years. It dies in the

The News inside:

- · A legend in the making, Page 4
- A farewell editorial and John Fischetti's cartoon, Page 12
- The foreign service, Page 16
- The Pulitzer Prize winners, Page 20
- 102 years of investigating, Page 21 • The Washington bureau, Page 24
- · Our last 'Done in a Day,' Page 26
- The last staff, Page 30
- A writer's newspaper, Page 50

A truly great newspaper: Why couldn't it make it?

By Mike Royko

About the only good thing that can be said for working on a newspaper that folds is that it is sort of like reading your own obit.

Since the official announcement was made on Feb. 22 that The Chicago Daily News would cease publication on March 4, the nation's press has been lamenting our demise.

4, the nation's press has been lamenting our demise.

We've been reading about how we were one of America's
oldest papers (102 years), rich in tradition and boosting of gre
staffs, past and present.

Most of the obits point out that The Daily News had the
nation's first foreign service. It was a great one. Over the
years, it included such star reporters as John Gunther, Edgar
Ansel Mowrer, Paul Scott Mowrer, Keyes Beech, George
Weller and Bill Stoneman.

This was the paper that once employed Carl Sandburg as a silent movie critic. Ben Hecht worked here and gathered the material for "Front Page," his classic play about the roughhouse days of Chicago journalism. The Daily News invented the daily columnist.

Our 15 Pulitzer Prizes and countless other awards put us right up there with the best of papers.

The Daily News was doing investigative reporting and sending politicians to jail when Woodward and Bernstein were toddlers.

Our Washington hursau, while not hie in

Our Washington bureau, while not big in

Our Washington bureau, while not big In number, was always respected. The late Ed Lahey was a living Washington legend.

Bureau Chief Peter Lisagor, who died in 1976, was often described by his peers as the best reporter in the capital.

The recent staff was as good as its ancestors, Pulitzers were owned by cartoonist John Fischetti, associate editor Lois Wille and Beech, Lately of the Washington staff. More than 50 books have been written by recent Daily News writers.

than of tools are writers.

Well, you read enough glowing obits about yourself, and you can be pardoned for thinking: "Boy, we were really pretty and ""

good."

But then comes the inevitable question: "Yeah? If we were that good, how come we didn't make it?"

And that is the toughest part of being on a 102-year-old, tradition-laden newspaper that goes under. If it had been a cheap rag, its death would have been easier to take. But The Daily News, while it had some bad days, was still one of the best papers in this country.

best papers in this country.

The very day publisher Marshall Field stood on a desk in the city room to break the bad news, the paper was notified that Lois Wille had won the William Allem White award, the nation's top honor for excellence in editorial writing. In recent months it had dominated the city's news coverage, with spectacular front-page exposes of political scandals. The talk in the news room was about which story

Turn to Page 2

A statement from the publisher

With this edition The Chicago Daily News ceases publi-tion. I am saddened that it must be so, for the loss of any reat newspaper is a tragedy for the community, its uployes, readers and advertisers.



readers and advertisers.

The Daily News has been a Chicago institution for more than a century, and as a winner of 15 Pulitzer Prizze it has been respected throughout the country and the world. The men and women who ia

Despite all our efforts, the economics of publishing, reader habits and life-styles have changed dramatically in the last two decades, making it impossible for The Daily News to earn the revenues needed for any healthy, sound

As the publisher and man responsible for The Daily News, I feel this loss very deeply, I feel I owe you, the reader, a personal thank you for your loyalty.

The Chicago Sun-Times, which has been growing stead-y, will be expanded greatly and will serve an ever acreasing number of readers with vigor and dedication.

Your favorite Dally News columnists, writers and editors will be waiting for you in the new Sun-Times. Now 10 Pullizer Prize winners on the same team will bring you the finest news coverage. The Chicago Sun-Times can be delivered to your home in the morning or picked up at your newsstand every afternoon—with the latest stock market

Marshall Field

Publisher

The front page of the last Chicago Daily News told its own story in more ways than one: while Mike Royko's obituary puzzled over the paper's demise, publisher Marshall Field segued briskly from mourning to selling readers on the surviving (and prospering) sister paper, the Sun-Times. So long, Daily News.

saddled with their main job of laying down a basic news report — what happened, quickly, with why it happened and, if there was time and opportunity, what it was likely to mean. Since the worldwide inflation of the 1970s has been cutting into wire-service budgets, there seem to be fewer staffers free to do that kind of writing.

In the case of the *Monitor* and the *Los Angeles Times*, the situation piece, that leisurely exercise in explanation that stands on the other end of a continuum from the fifty-word foreign news capsule, seems still to be admired.

But the correspondents of *The New York Times*, and, to a lesser extent, *The Washington Post*, have other tasks to perform before they are free to sit back and take those long looks. One task seems to be to match or outperform the wire services on every major story, so that the next day's front page is solid *Times* or *Post* by-lines. The other seems to be to match or outperform each other.

This phenomenon has been observed over the years as nervous foreign-desk editors call correspondents away from dinner half a world away with a query about a quote or nuance reported by someone else. Whatever the faults of the Daily News service, this wasn't one of them.

Except for its early years, when it had more correspondents than anyone else, it never pretended to be a newspaper of record. It worked its correspondents hard, but it had faith in their sense of news and of history. In practice, this meant that they could go their way, make their own assignments, choose stories and situations no one else was covering.

This was the policy that produced the treks to guerrilla hideouts by Georgie Ann Geyer in Latin America and the Middle East, the superior diplomatic reporting of Milt Freudenheim at the United Nations, David Nichol's scholarly daily history pieces on postwar Germany, and the Vietnam coverage of Beech and Raymond Coffey.

The Daily News service had its flaws, of course, and one of them was self-promotion. "Our man was there!" the headline would proclaim, and the man, receiving the clip days or weeks later, would mutter that where the hell did they expect him to be, and worry a little

that there weren't more people to be in other important places.

Often, it seemed, a dispatch would be more favored if a river had been swum or a mountain climbed in order to report or file. George Weller did swim the Bosphorus, and did bobsled down an Alp. But his enterprise and energy served the paper well in two decades of Middle Eastern strife.

This promotional urge reached a peculiar kind of peak in the final issue of the *Daily News*, which was so filled with testimonials — advertising as well as editorial — that it seemed a paper was being launched instead of sunk.

Page Two sank some years before the paper did, and the foreign service expired at the end of 1976. The only apparent remains of the *Daily News* are the traditional red streak, now adorning an early *Sun-Times* edition, and some of the writers and reporters.

Is there hope for a new Page Two, a Sun-Times foreign service? The Daily News was losing five million a year, but its tabloid morning sister has always been a money-maker. A tenth of the

money sunk in the *Daily News* would support a respectable network of foreign correspondents, even allowing for inflation in Europe and Asia and unfavorable exchange rates.

When Bill Newman, writing the lead story on the paper's final day, asked James Stuart of Field Enterprises why the *Daily News* couldn't have been kept alive as an act of civic responsibility, he got a corporate answer: "It seems to be strained logic that we have an obligation to fund an entity that is not viable in the marketplace. It seems to be an unfair and inappropriate suggestion."

Would Marshall Field give the same answer to a question about the regional and national responsibility of restoring more voices and views from abroad?

And, if he did deem it fair and appropriate to send a new corps of Sun-Times correspondents abroad, what would be the response from across Michigan Avenue, at the Tribune, which has also closed its foreign bureaus, but, like Field, no longer has to support its money-losing afternoon newspaper?

How Chicago lost another paper

by GENE GILMORE

ost people would assume that a city of 3.1 million could support at least three robust daily newspapers. Chicago is that big, but it now provides strong in-city circulation to only one daily, the Sun-Times. For the bulk of its circulation, the Chicago Tribune now turns to the suburban fertile crescent that surrounds the city on the north, west, and south. Until its closing on March 4, the Chicago Daily News, the city's last afternoon paper, sold a few more copies in the city than it did in the suburbs,

largely because commuters often bought it before catching their evening trains. But the real trouble was that too few people bought the paper anywhere, in or out of the city.

Chicago's circulation problems are not unique, of course. It is costly to deliver afternoon papers; radio and television competition hurts; and the social, racial, and economic composition of urban areas continues to shift away from the white middle class that is the core of most newspapers' circulation. Chicago's population loss of 300,000 between 1970 and 1975 was not extraordinary, nor was the growth of its black and Hispanic communities — to 33 percent and 7 percent of the total by 1970, with the

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proportion still rising.

By now, perhaps 45 percent of Chicagoans are minority-group members, who are, according to every research indication, skimpy newspaper readers. They buy fewer papers because their education has not prepared them to deal with relatively complex reading matter, and because they may often feel that they have no stake in the news. More important, they have little spending money, and a monthly subscription bill is a substantial expense for the poor.

Many of these people live where it is difficult to buy a newspaper. The huge Cabrini-Green public-housing project, on Chicago's Near North Side, as an example, gets deliveries of hardly anything. A newspaper carrier would stand a good chance of being robbed and beaten. A vending machine lasts only until it accumulates a few coins. A newspaper driver fears to leave the truck long enough to feed the vending machine. One newspaper executive has said, "We can't spend four dollars in those areas to make one."

Faced with such facts, Chicago's dailies have tended to ignore the blighted areas and have concentrated instead on minority residential neighborhoods where they have a modest chance of profitable sales. In pursuit of this strategy, editors aimed to produce papers that would interest more blacks. All hired black staffers, including columnists, and the Sun-Times named a black city editor, Earl Moses. These staffers became more visible by appearing on television or by speaking to predominantly black groups, especially high-school students. Similarly, the paper hired a columnist to write in Spanish.

The only paper to make much headway by these means was the Sun-Times. The paper may have been helped by the reputation of the Marshall Field family — publishers of the paper since the launching of the Sun in 1941 — as sympathetic to black causes (although this factor did not help the Daily News). A more substantial reason, however, is that the Sun-Times was the city's only tabloid, and convenient for those obliged to ride buses and subways.

The *Tribune* has worked to overcome an unfavorable reputation among blacks based largely on its past association with

right-wing politics. The *Tribune* editors think the attitude is changing. Word is out that the paper hires blacks and is paying attention to black news. For example, the paper a year ago sent a reporting team of two blacks and a white to gather several stories on Africa. Moreover, it hopes that its thorough business news will appeal to the growing number of affluent blacks. So far, there is little evidence that the strategy has worked, for the *Tribune* dropped 2,000 in city circulation in 1977 while the *Sun-Times* made an equivalent gain.

For its part, the *Daily News* made a long series of desperate moves to keep alive. Obviously, none succeeded. The paper hired black columnists and reporters, but the tone of its coverage indicated a primary intent to tell whites about black problems. "It's a commuter's paper," one black businessman said before the paper folded.

In-city circulation at the beginning of the year tells the tale:

Sun-Times	351,832
Tribune	275,020
Daily News	184,998

In the suburbs, the *Tribune* and *Sun-Times* positions were reversed, but the *Daily News* still brought up the rear:

Tribune	370,603
Sun-Times	208,345
Daily News	148.066

The *Tribune* and the *Sun-Times* picked up 7,000 and 3,000 readers, respectively, in the suburbs last year; the *Daily News* lost 1,000.

For years, the *Daily News* tinkered with content and format, trying to find a selling combination. Sometimes it shifted toward spectacular stories, sometimes to serious news. None of the alterations worked, and the paper gave the impression that it was erratic in news judgment.

In 1977, the *Daily News* made its next-to-last major move when James Hoge, editor of the *Sun-Times*, was made editor of both papers and concentrated on salvaging the afternoon property. He swiftly applied cosmetic changes. National, world, and state stories were reduced to boxes, with each category on a separate page. The paper's oncefamous foreign staff was scuttled and

the Washington staffs of both papers were shaken, and many bureau reporters quit. The emphasis shifted to attracting the middle class; even coverage of poverty was framed to show how it touched the middle class. Hoge conceded black readership to the *Sun-Times*.

Late in 1977, the paper made its last move. A New Yorker was brought in to redesign the paper. When the new look hit the streets there were cries of dismay through Chicagoland. Thick black rules and dark headlines shocked old-time readers. "It looks like thirty friends of the publisher died," one remarked. Modifications started within three days. There were fewer rules and the pages began to look well-composed, even handsome. The magazine-style pageone makeup was often disrupted, however, by the traditional monster headline aimed at the newsstand buyer. It was not really surprising that the new makeup had little effect on sales.

o the *Daily News* died, and it is possible to say that death was unavoidable. There were management errors, but the paper was more clearly a victim of changing readership, higher costs, delivery headaches, and of robust competition.

As Chicagoans now learn to do without any afternoon newspaper at all, the Sun-Times and the Tribune will battle for those 300,000-plus bereft readers. But many of those already read one of the morning papers; others will simply vanish, as is always the case in newspaper closings. The target is perhaps 150,000. The Sun-Times quickly added a late-morning edition, and suburban papers were prompt to announce plans for expansion into the afternoon field. The Tribune, which folded its afternoon daily, Chicago Today, in 1974, now publishes late-afternoon editions, but, curiously, pulled its mid-afternoon edition off the market January 27, a few days before the first stories that the Daily News was doomed.

The odds favor a continued circulation climb for the *Tribune* as the suburbs grow and prosper, and slower gains for the *Sun-Times* because it is partly dependent on the relatively less prosperous and stagnating city. And for the first time a major American city is left without an afternoon newspaper.

Land-use coverage: a Connecticut sampler

Throughout the country, land use has become a major issue, but in one state much of the press keeps getting bogged down

by JOHN S. ROSENBERG

housands of times a week, Americans subdivide land for new houses, rezone residential areas to admit stores, or break ground on new factories and offices. These decisions, most made locally, determine land use, and provide newspapers with a staple in their story diet. Planning and zoning hearings are regular, easily covered sources of news. But land use involves more than zoning. The cumulative effect of many small land-use decisions may be to change not only a single community but a region extending far beyond.

Like other sections of the country, New England has been undergoing drastic changes in the use of its land. The changes began with the decline of the region's textile and shoe industries as manufacturers moved south to the "Sunbelt." Mill towns became ghost towns. More recently, vacation and second-home developments have sped the growth of commercial areas in Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont. Throughout New England, farm land is being subdivided and sold for thousands of dollars an acre.

A look at newspaper coverage of land-use problems in one New England state, Connecticut, reveals the variety of issues to be covered and the various ways newspapers deal with them. Connecticut, of course, faces a distinct set of pressures growing out of its proximity to New York City. Along the commuter corridor between New York and New Haven, corporations fleeing Manhattan have made office buildings rise where corn grew or cattle grazed, and executive employees and their families fill developments of quarter-million-dollar homes. Every week, the Stamford Advocate features stories on changing land use, such as AREA RESIDENTS PROTEST PROPOSED SHOPPING CENTER OFFICE COMPLEX. Elsewhere in the state. The

Hartford Courant reports that ESTUARY GROUP STATES 'QUALIFIED OPPOSITION' TO PLANS FOR COASTLINE as legislators consider Connecticut's use of the Federal Coastal Zone Management Act. The Hartford Advocate, a weekly, covers THE CASE OF THE DISAPPEARING FARMLAND. (In 1944, Connecticut had 22,000 farms; in 1974, there were only 3,800.)

Zoning stories dominated any accounting of land-use coverage in the six Connecticut dailies and four weekly papers (including the Sunday New York Times's Connecticut section) that I surveyed. Zoning is the only tool many communities have to register their interest in the land. Most zoning controversies involve issues so local — the size of a sign, the width of a driveway - that they are inconsequential for community land use. But on occasion major issues arise, and reporters, focusing solely on what goes on at zoning hearings, often overlook significant land-use news.

classic example of such nearsightedness occurred in Middletown, a city of 36,000 people halfway between New Haven and Hartford. In 1974, a promoter applied for permission to build a horseracing track, expected to draw up to 12,000 spectators daily, on 450 acres. The Middletown Press (circulation 21,000) provided detailed coverage of the hearings on the project, ran large pictures of the site, commented editorially, and reported the issuance of each permit required for the construction of the track, which has yet to be built. The Hartford Courant's local bureau also reported the story.

But only the *Press* even mentioned a major land-use issue related to the track. A March 1974 story on local officials' visits to two other race tracks noted, "Both tracks . . . attracted motels and other commercial development as 'spin-offs.' "Another article, on the

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questions being considered by zoning commissioners, wondered, "... will the city have to change zoning to accommodate such track 'spin-offs' as motels, cinemas and restaurants?"

The answer, most probably, is yes, but neither the *Press* nor the *Courant* asked the city's planners or the staff of a regional planning agency headquartered in Middletown to comment on this possibility. This sort of passive reporting is typical of zoning stories.

The News-Times, of Danbury (circulation 37,000), is an exception to this rule. A Dow-Jones paper, The News-Times covers a part of the state undergoing extensive development. The completion of an interstate connector ten years ago opened the area to commuters bound for offices in New York or southern Connecticut; now corporate offices are sprawling all over the countryside. The News-Times has responded to these changes by freeing reporters to write series of articles on growth and land development.

fter Union Carbide decided in early 1976 to bring its 3,000 office jobs to Danbury, Bob Chuvala, the paper's business reporter, wrote four page-one stories. The series, called "Corporate Corner," went far beyond business news to note that new employees would require "building double or triple the number of housing units each year" in neighboring towns, and that utilities, school budgets, and tax rates would all be strained. The series drew upon the experience of nearby Ridgefield, where population more than doubled in the 1960s, to demonstrate the resulting changes in quality of life. A sidebar discussed the adverse effect on local firms of land and labor prices bid up by larger companies moving into the area. "Corporate Corner" won a New England Press Association prize. Other News-Times series have examined the physical and fiscal impacts of growth in smaller towns around Danbury, and the implications of growing use of public parks and recreational lands in the area.

Since its inception in February 1977, the "Connecticut Weekly" Sunday section of *The New York Times* has also reported intelligently on major zoning issues. News features have laid out the choices before several communities de-

ciding whether to admit additional corporate offices. Two opinion pieces in the section — WHO SHALL LIVE IN NEW CANAAN? and WHO SHOULD LIVE IN REDDING? — have dramatized the issue of zoning that excludes low-income fami-

'The political nature of the zoning process seems to go almost totally uncovered'

lies for a readership far beyond the towns immediately involved.

The prestige and wide distribution of the Sunday Times have also meant that the Connecticut section defines or legitimates stories for other papers. A mid-August story last year had that effect. A BIT OF TIMES SQUARE TROUBLES OLD LYME reported on Sound View, an old and densely developed beach area, one of the few in the state open to all comers, in otherwise affluent Old Lyme. Responding to the ensuing controversy, the tiny staff of the Old Lyme Gazette, a five-year-old weekly circulating a few thousand copies, created a three-part series on the origins of Sound View, the failure of past redevelopment efforts, and prospects for gradual improvement through creative planning, zoning, and public investment.

The political nature of the zoning process seems to go almost totally uncovered in the daily press. Zoning regulations may lend the appearance of rationality to what goes on when applications or appeals are reviewed, but politics counts for a lot. An article in the December 1976 Connecticut magazine explained how a land developer who was chairman of Middletown's redevelopment agency got a state permit for one of his private projects with the considerable help of a local state representative. By making a few phone calls, the reporter, Peter Perl, was able to illuminate the land-use control process in a way daily journalism rarely does.

Like the politics of zoning, land-use changes not directly related to zoning often elude reporters. The huge national program to clean up polluted water, for example, is promoting massive land-use changes. The installation of sewers in lightly developed or rural areas leads to pressure for subdivision, because sewers cheapen the cost to builders and additional households help to defray taxes and to pay for new treatment plants.

These pressures are evident in the small Connecticut towns now building sewage-treatment systems. Along the Connecticut River south of Middletown, one of the fastest growing areas of the state, sewers are the most expensive public investments towns have ever made, so articles naturally focus on costs. But in the last two years the correspondents and stringers for the *Press*, the *Courant*, and *The New Haven Register*, the dailies covering at least part of the region, simply have not looked into the resulting land-use problem.

The story can be covered without any special editorial expense or reportorial expertise. The Lakeville Journal (circulation 5,750), a weekly in Connecticut's wealthy, sparsely settled, and slow-growing northwest corner, routinely does so. Robert H. Estabrook, formerly of The Washington Post, has owned and edited the Journal for eight years, during which time its staffwritten news and his editorials have come to constitute some of the most impressive journalism on land use available in the state.

While the Journal covers all the formal zoning proceedings and reports on major development proposals - a highway, power plants — its work on the less obvious problems is genuinely distinguished. In the fall of 1976, when the state proposed more stringent rules for septic tanks in unsewered areas. the paper's reporters wrote page-one stories, based on interviews with regional planners, explaining how PROPOSED SEPTIC RULES COULD CAUSE LAND CRUNCH. Estabrook's editorial on the problem, "A Septic Dilemma," told readers, better than any planner ever has, that while the new rules limited pollution, their effect "could be (1) to increase the pressure to divert farm land, where soils often are more suitable for septic tanks, to residential use; (2) to increase the demand for costly extensions of sewer lines; and (3) to increase minimum lot sizes in unsewered areas at



"Quick! Get your gun, Pa! Here come the suburbs."

a time when the price of building lots already required is a severe deterrent to persons of moderate income." Not Pulitzer material, perhaps, but genuinely useful journalism.

The *Journal* has done an equally good job on other hidden land-use issues that some papers have overlooked. A heavy flood in the spring of 1977, for example,

elicited an editorial explaining the value of ordinances restricting new building in floodplains, a zoning change required by the National Flood Insurance Program. A refreshing contrast to the usual boilerplate on the last "big one," such comment spelled out the reasons for complicated land-use controls.

Few other Connecticut papers seem

aware that state and federal programs, such as those regulating wetlands and floodplains, are of real consequence to landowners and entire communities.

Local planning is an accessible story: all the reporter need do is pick up maps and documents — and that is part of the problem. Most reporters are content merely to summarize the contents of

planning documents when they are published or revised. Readers of *The Middletown Press* were given this description of a nearby town's "master plan of development": "Such topics as land use, residential land use, commercial and industrial land use, marinas,

'It takes work to find out what land-use controversies a state shares with its neighbors. Some papers do not even try'

recreational land use and open space land use are all scrutinized in the section covering present conditions and future needs." The paper also reported, without explanation, that the plan called for technical changes such as "planned unit development, cluster zoning," and "a site plan review system for industry and commercial ventures." Though the *Press* later brought some clarity to these subjects in an editorial, this kind of news writing, by no means atypical, is hard to excuse.

The Advocate, of Stamford (circulation 31,500), bought last fall along with the Greenwich Time by the Times Mirror Company, did a much better job of straight reporting when that city's master plan was revised in March 1977. In the two decades since the previous plan emerged, Stamford and neighboring towns had been transformed by the stampede of Fortune 500 companies quitting New York. The new plan, published February 23 for discussion at a hearing one month later, was front-page news. In the ensuing weeks, Thomas F. Sweeney, an Advocate reporter, wrote eight more articles, usually run on page one, explaining the plan neighborhood by neighborhood. Each Saturday, the Advocate ran as op-ed pieces excerpts from the plan's policy statement, covering transportation, open space and recreation, and the use of the city's waterfront. The nine articles and four excerpts effectively covered most of the issues that planners and Stamford residents could be expected to discuss.

Planning can also be the basis for fea-

tures or analytical pieces in the years between major revisions of the maps, but few of the papers examined initiated such coverage. By comparing planning goals with emerging development patterns, a reporter can figure out how a community is growing. Are subdivisions chopping up valuable open spaces? Is the city encouraging development where utilities are already installed, or will it bear the cost of extending services to new parcels farther away?

Middletown's Press, in fact, has done just this, although in editorial columns, not in news articles. As the city began to plan improvements for a major road, the paper urged that "advocacy planning" be used to control changes in the entire area. The editorial pointed out that shopping centers, gas stations, and a stomach-turning variety of fast-food restaurants were already intruding on an adjacent baseball field and park, and urged an integrated approach to all these problems. The city development committee subsequently recognized the threat and began coordinating its transportation, recreation, and planning activities in the area. In such cases, good journalism does a better job of informing the community about land use than does the planning process itself.

If local land-use coverage is often too immersed in detail to take note of larger stories, reporting on state or national issues tends to be abstract or perfunctory. It takes work to find out what land-use controversies a state shares with its neighbors or to relate a wire-service story about a Supreme Court ruling to local conditions. Some papers do not even try.

A proposal to keep Connecticut farm land from being developed is a case in point. Since a task force appointed by the governor recommended in 1974 that \$500 million be spent to purchase "development rights" (the difference between land's farm value and its value as sites for building) to 325,000 acres, this has been the major land-use proposal debated in the Connecticut legislature. Defeated three times because of its cost, the bill was pared down early this year to a \$5 million pilot program.

Newspapers throughout the state covered the announcement of the new bill at the beginning of the legislative session. Many supported it editorially. A few, notably the *Courant* and the *Times*'s Connecticut section, ran op-ed or analytical pieces on the subject. Since then, news stories, staff-written or from the state wire services, have focused on hearings on the bill. Such coverage is not enough. Indeed, given the existence of comparable legislation throughout the northeast, it is singularly provincial.

On December 1, 1977, Massachusetts began a pilot program to purchase farmland development rights. The next day's Wall Street Journal provided a clear and detailed story on the law and others like it. On December 3, the Courant "covered" the news by running a onesentence U.P.I. story, on page seven, which incorrectly said that Massachusetts had "become the first state in the nation to curb urban and suburban sprawl" this way. Although the bill before the 1978 Connecticut General Assembly was modeled after this law, the Courant, as of late March, had not returned to the subject.

A Times Connecticut section piece mentioned farm preservation programs in Massachusetts and on Long Island. The Middletown Press used syndicated Christian Science Monitor articles on farm-land development throughout the country. The Lakeville Journal ran a comprehensive Pacific News Service story on the subject and reprinted on page one a speech on the nation's vanishing farm lands by Douglas Costle, administrator of the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency.

hether the Connecticut bill is the best means to preserve farm land is a question the state's press has, by and large, failed to raise. Only two papers of those I surveyed have addressed this subject. In an editorial, The Lakeville Journal pointed out that inheritance taxes, rising production costs, and the reluctance of sons and daughters to take over their parents' farms have more to do with the sale of farms for development than the large offers made by developers. And in the February 22, 1978, Hartford Advocate, an alternative weekly published for free distribution, state Senator Audrey Beck, the chief opponent of developmentrights purchase bills and a land-use expert, was given an apparently unique

"We're in danger of losing our most economical source of power."

-Meredith D. Persson, Nuclear Cost Accountant

"In most areas of the country, nuclear energy is our cheapest source of electric power. On the average, electricity from nuclear energy costs 1.23 cents per kilowatt hour; but electricity from oil runs to 3.36 cents!

"Despite these figures, only three nuclear plants were

started in 1977.

In many areas, nuclear energy saves customers millions of dollars.

"Nuclear plants saved customers of New England electric companies \$380 million, compared to what an equivalent amount of power generated by oil would have cost. In Illinois, nuclear power saved customers \$125 million; in the Carolinas, \$138 million; in Iowa, \$16 million.

The price of oil itself will no doubt continue to rise.

This clearly hurts the car and home owner. It also hurts in less visible ways—in higher electric rates, in the cost of energy that goes into manufactured products.

But nuclear power can ease inflationary pressures

nflationary pressures while it helps us through the energy crisis.

Nuclear energy prevented disaster during the big freeze.

"During the record cold wave of '76-'77, demand for fuel shot up—while deliveries of coal, oil, and gas (to homes, businesses, and power plants) slid down. "People switched to

electricity to make up the fuel loss, and demands soared to record peaks. Over 20 billion kilowatthours of electricity were produced from more than 50 nuclear generating units. These plants, by continuing to supply electricity where others couldn't, saved an estimated 257,000 jobs, and prevented a disastrous decrease in the gross national product.

Nuclear power can't do the job alone we still need coal as a major source of electricity.

"Electric companies are, where feasible, converting power plants from oil and natural gas to coal. Coal may make more sense than nuclear power in certain areas—right where coal fields are located, for example.

"But remember that in some sections of the country our electric power capacity is stretching thin—dangerously thin, as the cold snap revealed."





By 1988 America will need 40% more electricity just to supply all the new people and their jobs. New power plants—both nuclear and coal—are urgently needed and must be started at once to be ready in time. For facts on your energy options, just send in the coupon.

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opportunity to explain her position to a journalist. In THE CASE OF THE DISAPPEARING FARMLAND, reporter Gail Collins wrote that Senator Beck was concerned that, once development rights were purchased, many farms might simply lie fallow. Beck also blamed

'Reporters who sit through zoning meetings might do a better job if they were redeployed'

municipal zoning commissions for forcing farm land into development by authorizing sewers in rural areas and allowing industry to locate in such areas. The question the state senator raised was a crucial one: should state government permit local land-use decisions to force farms into development while it spends money trying to preserve farm land? Other reporters have interviewed Senator Beck, but their stories usually concerned her political role in blocking the bill, not whether the bill would be effective.

Federal actions affecting state lands are a final category of land-use news. Recent stories in the Connecticut press have covered the state's response to the Federal Coastal Zone Management Act of 1972, and a Supreme Court ruling on exclusionary zoning.

The coastal zone management act provides for incentive grants to states to prepare and administer plans for the preservation of their coastlines. The law establishing Connecticut's planning procedure came before the legislature in February of this year. The New Haven Register provided the most extensive straight coverage of the bill, among the papers examined. It editorialized against the program, but also carried an op-ed article by environmentalists who favored it. Ironically, it was only on the op-ed page, not in the newspaper's news columns, that the coastal program's mechanics were explained.

Of the papers in my sample, only the Sunday *Times*'s Connecticut section initiated news coverage of the substance

of the coastal program. On March 5, the day before the environment committee began legislative hearings around the state, A DELICATE BALANCE: COASTAL PROTECTION AND COASTAL RIGHTS led the Connecticut Sunday section. The story, by reporter Richard L. Madden, explained the federal law, the purposes of the proposed bill, objections to it, and its political prospects. An opinion piece in the same section also dealt with the issue.

None of the newspapers examined reported on coastal zone management programs in neighboring states. The New Englander, a monthly business magazine published by Yankee, Inc., covered the Massachusetts plan in a detailed December 1977 article. Although business and environmental groups in Connecticut face the same sorts of problems in hammering out a workable coastal law as their Massachusetts counterparts, the Connecticut press apparently decided that the news stops at the nearest state boundary.

overage of judicial decisions has varied in quality, with the state's largest paper, The Hartford Courant, doing the least. In January 1977, the Supreme Court upheld the zoning of Arlington Heights, Illinois, despite charges that it excluded housing for the poor. The case, one of a series of challenges to suburban communities that "zone out" apartments or public housing, should have been of great interest to Hartford. The city was then involved in much-publicized litigation to prevent the distribution of federal grants to Hartford suburbs whose growth has contributed to center-city decay. The Courant ran an A.P. story on the decision and that was that.

Papers in other cities with similar problems covered the story more aggressively. The Waterbury Republican (circulation 33,000) assigned a reporter to contact the regional housing council and a planning agency. The resulting front-page story put the news of the Court decision in the context of the confinement of the area's poorer families to central Waterbury and described other landmark cases on exclusionary zoning. This resourceful news-gathering, accompanied by an editorial, brought the impact of a remote land-use

case to readers in the paper's local community. In Stamford and Danbury, where suburban towns were being investigated or sued for exclusionary practices, *The Advocate* and *The News-Times* also produced coverage linking the ruling to local disputes.

The details of land use are often undramatic, and there have been neither public protests nor, in most areas, public hearings to organize concern for the use of land and to simplify news coverage. The occasional departures from the norm - a community rising up against large-scale subdivision or the relocation of corporate headquarters, a new comprehensive state land-use law — are not enough to change the traditional pattern of covering the news. Since most decisions are still made locally, articles narrowly focused on individual zoning cases continue to dominate coverage of land development.

The land-use reporting in a sampling of one state's newspapers, it seems to me, clearly demonstrates that daily coverage of minute land-use changes yields stories that mean little to most readers and give no sense of their communities' growth. Reporters who sit and perhaps doze — through zoning meetings every few weeks might do a better job if they were redeployed. They could look into the effects of putting in sewers and building highways and access roads. They could report on the compromises involved when houses and stores can no longer be built on floodplains and wetlands - and on the resulting pressure to build on farm land.

Land use was covered best in the papers surveyed when the conventions of straight reporting were modified. In analytical articles and features, reporters went beyond press releases, zoning meetings, and pending legislation to find out on their own about land use, planning (and the politics of planning), and community growth. Their stories began with the assumption that development and changing land use were phenomena occurring over long periods of time and in ways unforeseen by public officials. This kind of journalism is effective both because it compels reporters to think and because it places in context the myriad daily decisions that, taken together, determine patterns of land use for decades to come to.

Join The Union... Or Else.

ammy Kirkland spends most of his time these days on a hog farm, away from his home in Ft.
Myers, Fla. He doesn't answer his mail or the telephone.

He's kept a low profile ever since that terrifying day in May 1971 when a union mob nearly killed him on an excavation job, breaking three of his ribs, putting steel shavings in his eyes and threatening to cut off his arms.

Why were they out to get him? Because he refused to join a local union. Sammy Kirkland's life has been altered, forever, because he refused to abandon his right to work to union goons.

Other lives have been changed too. Four of the union agents responsible for the vicious attack were given five-year jail sentences. Kirkland also filed a damage suit against the local and international unions.

In early 1976, union officials agreed to a \$165,000 out-of-court settlement, one of the largest ever obtained in a union violence case. But as Kirkland's attorney provided by the National Right to Work Legal Defense Foundation said, "No amount of money can compensate him for the damage that's been done."

Sammy Kirkland's case, shocking as it is, is not an

isolated one. Herbert McGruther of Lake City, Fla., was fired from his construction job in 1975 because he refused to join another local of the same union.

McGruther was subjected to a different kind of intimidation. A union agent prominently displayed a large pistol in his belt while demanding that McGruther pay a union initiation fee and dues.

McGruther, with the support of the National Right to Work Legal Defense Foundation, has filed suit, charging the union with violating his rights and asking for punitive damages.

Sammy Kirkland and Herbert McGruther were fortunate. They found help. But how many other Kirklands and McGruthers in America need similar help?

The National Right to Work Legal Defense Foundation is a publicly supported charitable institution that provides free legal aid to employees whose rights have been violated because of compulsory unionism. The Foundation is currently assisting workers in more than 50 cases across the country.

If you want to help Herbert McGruther, and all the other McGruthers and Kirklands in our society, we'd like to hear from you. For more information on how you can help workers like Sammy Kirkland and Herbert McGruther, write:

The National Right to Work Legal Defense Foundation Suite 610 8316 Arlington Boulevard Fairfax, Virginia

22038



Doughnut-watching•The virtue of dissatisfaction•The egalitarian thrust

When it comes to evaluating the performance of the American economic system, it's hard to get some people to look at the substance. They get so hung up on shortcomings that they fail to discern accomplishments. Instead of comprehending the doughnut, they become fixated on the hole.

As a result, they come out almost totally negative and conclude that we ought to scrap the whole system and rebuild from scratch. In our view, this ignores the extraordinary benefits that our system—perhaps best called "democratic capitalism"—has produced for the ordinary person over the years. It also ignores the question of what to substitute for the most dynamic, most egalitarian, and most productive system in history, despite all its obvious flaws.

We don't feel any theological attachment to the American economic system. Certainly it can be improved. And this is exactly the point: The system has improved throughout the past 200 years, no matter how unevenly, is still improving, and seems likely to keep on improving if given a chance.

The best way to gauge any system's improvement is, of course, to monitor its performance.

If you look only at the <u>hole</u>, you'll find that both unemployment and inflation in the U.S. are still far higher than any of us would like.

But if you look at the <u>doughnut</u> over the 10 years through 1977—a decade that encompassed the Vietnam war, the oil embargo, and other afflictions—you'll find this: The number of people employed in this country increased well over twice as fast as our population did.

And, as Ben Wattenberg points out in his book *The Real America*, family income in the U.S., after adjusting for inflation, has doubled in a generation, and the steady upward movement of median family income in our country has created a "massive majority middle class... something that has never happened before anywhere..."

This is not to say any of us should be complacent. On the contrary, healthy and informed dissatisfaction with the status quo has underlain

much of our country's progress. But this constant progress itself has created problems: By performing economic miracles, the system has created enormous expectations and a growing desire for instant gratification of those expectations.

The key to this dilemma is partly one of timing: Our system is indeed able to work wonders when it is allowed to operate within rational, realistic timetables for change and with minimal government intervention. The problem often lies in expecting too much too soon, and this in turn often leads to well-meaning but misguided government intervention, which does more harm than good.

Most of the critics of our system agree that it is wondrously productive, though they are reluctant to comprehend that material wealth is indispensable if a society is to support such essentials as health care, education, and other social services. They fault the system on "moral" or other grounds—including, sometimes, esthetics. And they focus disproportionately on the short-term malfunctions that punctuate the system's long-term performance.

At least part of the carping at our economic system is sheer intellectual faddism; it's easier to criticize than to learn the basics of economics, which can require one to overcome deeply rooted biases. Many elitists seem to feel that in the long run our country will be better off if the decisions are made by a select few rather than by the masses of people. Since our economic system is essentially egalitarian in its thrust, elitists often appear to fear and distrust it.

Being egalitarian, the system naturally develops a constituency that is large and loyal, even if not as vocal as those bent on remaking society in their own image. If left unchecked, this tendency of people to think for themselves will almost inevitably strengthen both our economic and political systems.

This is a prospect we find it easy to live with. We believe that over any reasonable period of time the American people, no matter how much they criticize their economic system, will devote themselves more to appreciating the doughnut than to denouncing the hole in it.

Terrorist scripts and live-action spectaculars

As skilled producers of irresistible news, terrorists can control the media

by J. BOWYER BELL

e live in a time of terror. Innocents are slaughtered, statesmen murdered, airplanes hijacked, and officials kidnapped by men and women who have brought terror out of the history books or the guerrilla wars of the bush and into the open, democratic societies of the post-industrial world. States without nationality problems find their capitals used as arenas for media spectaculars choreographed by strange men pursuing alien causes — a Free Croatia, a Liberated Palestine, or some other luminous vision of a perfect society. Acting out of loyalty to a higher cause, the new gunmen appear to be beyond compromise; even, at times, beyond reason. The threatened nations have reacted in varying ways, in response to differing traditions, predilections, and possibilities, and more often than not in isolation.

State terror, of course, has long been with us, even if only as a relatively rare option for democratic governments. The present threat, however, has been posed by revolutionaries who murder in the name of a higher law and often an arcane cause, and who use the very freedom of Western societies to stage their violent spectaculars. Here, too, there has been a tendency to forget the long, bloody history of Western political violence: the assassin's toll, bombs tossed into theaters, landlords murdered, factories burned, lynch mobs, and urban riots. Instead, the public and the media perceive the dramatic slaughters of recent years, the machine gunning of innocents, the no-warning bombs, the murdered diplomats, and the extended hijacking odyssey, as novel and dread threats that must be met with novel and effective responses to defend the freedom and liberty of the West, now so inexplicably threatened.

For terror, however defined, has most assuredly now become a serious Western preoccupation.

Although killing for political purpose by rebels against the order of the day has always existed, even within open societies capable of accommodating demands for radical change, the new terror is - if only because it is perceived as such by the threatened — new. To many, the spectacular massacres appear fruitless displays by men and women frustrated beyond reason, not national political acts that can lead to power, but horror on horror's head that gains not power but publicity that, in fact, is counterproductive. And at times this may be so. Most certainly everyone recognizes that a complex, post-industrial society is also an open and vulnerable society where a very few determined fanatics can cause chaos. A handful of true believers can steal an airliner worth tens of millions of dollars, an airliner filled with hundreds of hostages, and — under the eye of the media, instantly transmitting the choreographed drama to hundreds of millions - play out a terror spectacular that may last for days and stretch out over several continents. These transnational terrorists, the television terrorists, are indeed a new phenomenon.

et most revolutionary violence is neither especially novel nor inexplicable. Too often, however, those who are threatened and those responsible make no special distinctions between the madman, the criminal, the vigilante, and the rebel with a cause. For them a bomber is a bomber, a gunman a gunman. But the psychotic bomber or the hijacker is more often than not simply mimicking the revolutionary fashions of the moment. It is the intentions and potential of the revolutionary — rational, if desperate and willing to take disproportionate risks with lives (including his or her own) — that present the real threat. In an era of high technology, this threat might not be simply spectacular, a media event, but lethal on a grand scale. The new terrorist could not only employ the more deadly aspects of high technology to hold whole nations to ransom, but, by encouraging authoritarian repression, he could also warp the freedom of all.

As the perception of the new terrorism grew firm in the early 1970s, the role of the media, especially television, came under scrutiny. The increased use of action film and of the first commercial communication satellites made possible extensive coverage of spectaculars — fires or small wars *or* terrorist dramas.

Those responsible in the networks' news divisions con-

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6 1978 by Basic Books, Inc.





Cameramen (right) film and record in the control tower of the Dubai airport in the United Arab Emirates as an army officer (seated) and the minister of defense talk to members of the Baader-Meinhof terrorist group in a hijacked Lufthansa jetliner (above).



tinue to insist, certainly in public and often to their colleagues, that, as always, they simply covered the news. And assassinations and hijackings, they claimed, were certainly news. But this was not the whole case, for terrorism and media coverage existed in a symbiotic relationship. Television no longer just responded to a terrorist-event; it became an integral part of that event.

f course, it has long been true that to a considerable extent much of the "news" is manufactured: presidential press conferences, open congressional committee meetings, campaign addresses, sports spectaculars, leads from the highly placed. And traditional notions of what constitutes a good story have not changed - personal drama, violence, suspense, and, if possible, sex. Small wonder that, as a newsworthy event, one of the greatest magnets for the broadcast media and the press in the 1970s was the long-running adventure of Patty Hearst and the Symbionese Liberation Army: beautiful young girl, famous parents, weird villains, shoot-outs, the incredible transformation of girl to guerrilla, and a trial at the end, with various unsavory revelations. The coverage was massive. And why not? After all, the great shoot-out was seen live, in color. The SWAT machine guns were real. The blazing house might — who knew? — hold Patty. And everyone, including her parents, could watch the action.

It has, in fact, been the potential of instant communication that has attracted the terrorists. Through a series of trials and errors they have learned how to choreograph the ideal media event — "news" so compelling in traditional terms that the media *must* respond. For the new terrorists, then, there are not only victims but, beyond them, targets — "public opinion," their avowed enemies (traitors in the ranks, moderates, and weaklings), their own friends and faithful. In order for the fate of the victims to have the desired impact on the targets, there must be not simply a means of communication but also a form that will guarantee awe, outrage, anguish, or horror. The ancient messenger bearing bad news in a forked stick, the telegram from the War Office, Edward R. Murrow speaking above the crackle of burning Wren churches during the London Blitz, these all lack the incredible immediacy of television. The tube takes you — live — to the Munich massacre or the SWAT shootout. With millions watching, two or three hostages murdered on camera become millions of hostages killed on millions of screens — truly horror on horror's head.

Over the course of television's relatively brief history, those with a cause have discovered that certain kinds of behavior within range of the camera's eye guarantee coverage: action is news. What the producers of terrorist spectaculars have managed to do is to raise the level of attraction to a peak beyond former riot rituals, to a level comparable at times to coverage of more conventionally global events, like the World Cup final or the Olympics.

A terrorist-spectacular first should be staged in an ideologically satisfactory locale with more than adequate technological facilities. Munich was ideal — No Justice for Palestine, No Peace for the World, not even at the Olympics, and several thousand journalists and cameramen on the spot. Even marginal sites like Khartoum, ideal for ideological reasons, can now be used as a stage, although the great Western cities are preferable. While the *entire* purpose of such an operation is not television transmission, a substantial portion is.

Second, the terrorist drama must offer the reality or prospect of violence. Unlike conventional television serials, the violence is real and the outcome uncertain. At any stage in the ritualized cycle of seizure-demand-negotiation-de-



A member of the Arab commando group which seized and later killed Israeli hostages during the 1972 Olympics appears on a balcony overlooking the Olympic village outside of Munich.

In Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, a member of the ultraleftist Red Army holds a gun on two hostages — Robert Stebbin, the U.S. consul, and F. Bergenstrahle, the Swedish chargé d'affaires taken in an August 1975 terrorist raid.



nouement there may be violence, and as negotiations continue, the prospects heighten — the ultimate deadline under sand clouds in Khartoum or on the tarmac at Fürstenfeldbruck outside Munich. But most terrorist-spectaculars are crafted under the eyes of the security forces. Thus, while the prospect of violence to hostages is within the terrorists' control, they have also written a part for the security forces outside their direct control — as a chorus, if there is concession, or as gunmen (actors), if there is to be a confrontation. What made the Israeli commando raid on Entebbe Airport doubly dramatic was that the terrorists had not written in that role; they were as stunned as would be a theater audience if Hamlet refused to die or Macbeth won out in the last act. The classical form of the drama — the media event — had been violated.

he third component of the successful terroristspectacular under optimum conditions is movement the change of scenery that allows the cameras to follow the actors (terrorists, hostages, security people) from one site to the next — coupled with the passage of time. The Croatian hijacking in 1976 managed to include New York, Chicago, Montreal, London, and Paris, with Reykjavik in Iceland thrown in. The Croatian spectacular ran for thirty hours, from 8:19 P.M. Friday evening until 3 A.M. Sunday morning, long enough to command the broadcast media for three days and the front pages from Saturday to Monday. Perhaps the longest terrorist-event was the confrontation between Irish police and the two Irish Republicans who held a Dutch businessman hostage for thirty-six days in an upstairs room of a housing estate thirty-five miles outside Dublin. In that case, and in several similar barricade-events, the stalemate was not planned. A truly crafted terrorist-event foresees confrontation and, if possible, has plans for movement to another site — and, perhaps, further confrontation. On several occasions, seized airliners with hostages have been flown back and forth, while the hijackers sought effective sanctuary and assured extensive coverage of their exploits.

Once a terrorist-event is launched before the camera, the drama by definition is a success. Operationally, all those involved may be killed (as was the case at Entebbe), or captured and imprisoned (as is regularly the case in operations inside Israel). Still, the impact exists; and in fact the impact may be greater because of violent failure, as was the case at Munich. The terrorists-actors, of course, would prefer not to die or fail, although they are quite willing to take disproportionate risks with their lives. They can be comforted by the excellent odds on ultimate freedom as long as they come through alive. A RAND survey of sixty-three major hostage situations between 1968 and 1974 found that 79 percent of all members of the terrorist teams escaped punishment or death and achieved a virtually 100-percent probability of gaining major publicity whenever that was one of the terrorists' goals. And it nearly always is. It does not matter if the coverage is hostile, or if the observers are outraged, indignant, and disgusted by "feral guerrillas" or "rabid creatures." Terrorists anticipate such a response from that particular target-group. At Munich, Black September sought from one target — Western opinion — a single response: why would people do such a horrible thing? From their other target, their allies and friends in the Middle East, they sought and largely received understanding. Why should the Arabs care about Western anguish? "They never cared about us. Why should we care about them?"

The terms of the success have been difficult to measure. Certainly, in conventional terms the "issue" has been raised — Palestine, South Molucca, Croatia, if not exactly

household words, are better known than before. Secondly, the concept of no-peace-for-you-without-justice-for-us has brought home to many of the comfortable seeking an easy life that the world of the immediate future may be an uneasy place. Justice for all appears impossible. And if justice is impossible, so too is peace for all.

Finally, the various revolutionary organizations have found a purpose; their members and supporters have been encouraged to believe that even if their aspirations are no closer to reality, they can at least still act on events. Certainly, gunmen, hijackers, and bombers must feel such operations effective, for despite the public indignation and outrage, they continue to shoot enemies of the cause, steal airliners filled with innocents, and set no-warning explosive devices in bars and department stores.

And so far the media have been quite willing, usually eager, to broadcast those events; editorial writers and reporters dwell on them at length. Only rarely do newspapers express doubt that this news is fit to print, an example being these words from a piece that appeared in the November 21, 1975, Washington Post:

We of the Western Press have yet to come to terms with international terror. If we thought about it more and understood its essence, we would probably stop writing about it, or we would write about it with a great deal more restraint.

About the only adjustment to traditional coverage - everything that space will allow for a hot story — has been tentative suggestions that a bad press or nasty coverage will dissuade potential terrorists. Such a "reform" is based on a failure to understand that the quality of the coverage is quite immaterial to the terrorist's purpose; only the intensity and quantity of coverage matter — the minutes of prime time, the size of the headlines. In any case, the news industry does not want to limit coverage, even if continued coverage might encourage governmental intervention - that is, censorship of sorts. A. M. Rosenthal of The New York Times speaks for many when he insists that it is not the responsibility of the media to accept such self-restraint. About the only publicly expressed unease with the coverage of terrorist spectaculars is the degree of cooperation with the police. There are nowhere hard and fast rules. At times the British have used D-notices to prevent coverage related to national security, but such a convention can work only in a small country with an interchangeable elite. So those involved have tended to narrow the scope of their selfexamination to the traditional questions of coverage response rather than grasping the nettle. In sum, the media have not "responded" to the terrorist threat but instead have become an integral part of that threat.

The arguments that terrorist-spectaculars must be covered — live if need be, at great length if warranted — have been traditional. The public must be informed — to hush up an incident would erode the trust of the American people in their democratic institutions ("What are the news people keeping from me?"). In any case, potential television terrorists frustrated by the imposition of any such ban might well devise a more awesome media event that would force coverage — an escalation of horror. What the terrorists have

discovered, of course, is that television news does more than inform. The "news" in the West has always stressed sensationalism and novelty. The media entertain.

There is simply no way that the Western media can ignore an event that has been fashioned specifically for their needs. Television terrorists can no more do without the media than the media can resist the terror-event. The two are in a symbiotic relationship, so that any restriction of one narrows the bounds of the other. To be free means that the media are open to capture by spectacular events. And the media have been captured, have proven totally defenseless, absolutely vulnerable. Of all the foundations of a free democratic society, that most basic — the freedom to know, to be informed - has guaranteed that such knowledge and such information can be fashioned by the fanatic through the conduit of the media eye. To close that eye would erode a fundamental right, would close an open society. Yet not to do so assures future massacres, further terrorist-events with little hope of audience saturation — after all, people still go to see Hamlet, and there they know the ending.

here is no way, then, to protect open societies at all times from the violent men. There is no way to transform the media so that they can protect themselves from capture by terrorist choreographers. These new transnational gunmen are, in fact, television producers constructing a package so spectacular, so violent, so compelling that the networks, acting as executives, supplying the cameramen and the audience, cannot refuse the offer. Given a script with an uncertain ending, live actors — the terrorists, the victims, the security forces, the innocent bystanders and a skilled director who choreographs the unfolding incident for maximum impact, television is helpless. And what really can be done? Certainly the reporters and cameramen should not interfere with security forces during negotiations or perhaps be such willing pawns — but as long as news in the West includes large portions of the novel and the sensational the networks and the newspapers will remain vulnerable to exploitation by the terrorists.

Terror in its manifold forms will remain with us. Sometimes such violence is significant as a real threat, but mostly it is not. The enemy is us. Indignation is expensive; outrage is dear. Make the best of a troubled world. Do not open bulky packages mailed from an unfamiliar address in Belfast. Avoid riding with controversial diplomats, applying for executive positions in troubled zones, or flying in planes that accept unfiltered passengers in the Rome or Athens terminals. Do not vacation in Uganda or lunch with Italian judges. The world is largely free of smallpox and the plague, but not of hurricanes or terrorists. So, most of all, don't despair simply because we live in interesting times. Perilous as matters seem, if open, democratic societies in the West cannot protect the liberty of us all from a handful of gunmen, accommodate legitimate dissent, and repress the politics of atrocity under the law — if we cannot tolerate the exaggerated horror flashed on the evening news, or the random bomb, without recourse to the tyrant's manual then we do not deserve to be free.

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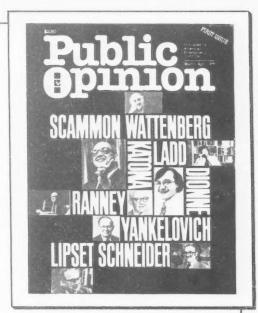
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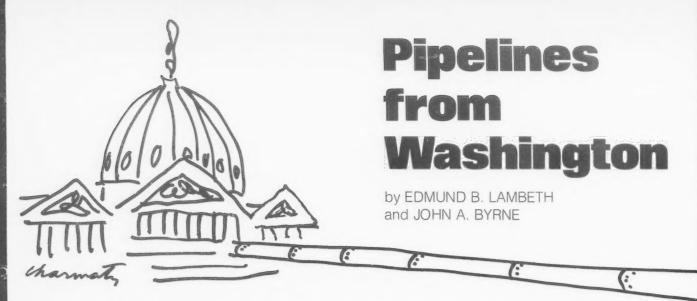
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A 'regional'
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readers informed
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but many papers
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t a time when editors, publishers, and "news doctors" again are pondering the best mix of local and national news, surprisingly little attention has been paid to those news people in a unique position to provide both.

They are Washington's special regional correspondents — "regionals" for short — who report for individual newspapers, newspaper groups, specialized news services or (less probably than in past years) a major wire service.

On their shoulders falls the responsi-

bility to give a reasonably comprehensive account of how lawmakers from their regions vote and what those votes mean to the areas. It likewise is the regionals' lot to report what they can of the interplay between a sprawling federal bureaucracy and the local people, firms, and institutions of their circulation areas. Not least, they are supposed to monitor how well lawmakers exercise the public trust placed in them by voters.

Although regionals remain largely unknown and unsung, they constitute the largest single component of the Washington press corps, and their number is slowly increasing still. Not counting the larger metropolitan newspaper bureaus with orientations to national news, such as the Los Angeles Times and the Chicago Tribune, correspondents for the hinterlands numbered about 270 in 1976, up 20 percent over the list in the Congressional Directory for 1961. However, their rate of increase is nowhere near the percentage growth in the same period for correspondents of the Washington dailies (70 percent), the foreign press corps (87 percent), the large metro bureaus (42 percent), or The New York Times (72 percent). Shockingly, the Associated Press and United Press International, under economic pressures, deploy slightly smaller total staffs than they did fifteen years ago - about 13 percent of the press corps.

Moreover, the growth in representation in the regional press corps has not been evenly distributed. Thirteen states have less than half their statewide daily circulations represented in Washington: Idaho, Indiana, Kansas, Mississippi, Montana, New Hampshire, North Carolina, North Dakota, South Dakota, Vermont, Virginia, and Wyoming.

James Reston of *The New York Times* has said that he believes every newspaper with a circulation of more than 100,000 should have a reporter in Washington as a "fundamental responsibility." By this yardstick, at least five newspapers still are deficient in not having full-time correspondents — the *Oakland Tribune* (which has part-time correspondents), the *Fort Lauderdale News*, the *Florida Times-Union* and *Jacksonville Journal*, the *South Bend Tribune*, and the Norfolk *Virginian-Pilot*.

Applying an even more generous yardstick of 200,000 circulation to the nation's newspaper groups discloses that there are fourteen of them — with a combined daily circulation of 4,765,000 — without their own group bureaus.

Executives and editors for most of the groups without Washington bureaus claim that their papers are spread over too large an area to make such bureaus successful. Some say they prefer to spend extra money in their own backyards and still others claim such good relationships with legislators that they believe coverage by long-distance telephone and personal contact during home visits are sufficient.

"When you're choosing between whether you're going to a better job of [covering] high school football or whether you're going to cover the Bu-

Edmund B. Lambeth, a former Gannett correspondent who directed the Missouri journalism school's graduate reporting program in Washington for ten years, recently joined the journalism faculty at Indiana University. John A. Byrne is a Washington correspondent for Fairchild Publications. Views expressed are those of the authors, who wish to acknowledge contributions from Tricia White, Louise Tutelian, Mark Nelson, Andrew Smith, Michael Days, James Semmes, and Elizabeth McNulty.

reau of Labor Statistics, I could tell you which one I'd pick," says William Steven, an editorial consultant for Harte-Hanks, which is without a group bureau. Robert G. Marbut, president and chief executive officer of the same group, agrees: "We all think that we have to lead from our strength, which is our number-one priority — the local news coverage." (At least three Harte-Hanks newspapers, the *Caller* and *Times* at Corpus Christi, Texas, and the Yakima, Washington, *Herald-Republic*, do accept copy from independent stringers in Washington.)

James E. Burgess, vice-president of

of many smaller groups, there are bigger groups, such as Gannett, which has had a bureau in Washington since 1942. In the past seventeen years, Gannett's combined daily circulation has tripled to almost three million and the number of its daily newspapers - seventy-five in twenty-nine states and two territories at this writing — has quadrupled. In the past decade, the budget of Gannett News Service, which includes Washington and state-capital bureaus, has increased sevenfold to \$1,750,000 in 1977. A budgeted increase to \$2,485,000 in 1978 will help establish two new state-capital bureaus, add a nashrinkage primarily to budget pressures, to the demands of increasingly complex national stories and beats, and to the reluctance of customers to pay the upkeep to preserve special regional staffs. Both the A.P. and U.P.I. bureaus also have felt the increased competition from supplemental wires, such as those of the Los Angeles Times/Washington Post and The New York Times services. Then, too, after Watergate siphoned off the regionals from their beats, as U.P.I. Washington Chief Grant Dillman recalls, "somewhat to our surprise, no-body seemed to have missed the re-

newspaper operations for Lee newspapers, thinks that good contacts with legislators obviate the need for a bureau: "When a congressman or senator comes home to visit an editor, it's a way to get a little ink, and, from an editor's standpoint, to fill in some of the holes."

Surprisingly, many other group executives feel the same way about Washington coverage. "I would be surprised if the top three editors of any of our papers didn't know [legislators] on a first name basis," says Ralph Ingersoll, president of Ingersoll Newspapers. That group has a total circulation of more than 330,000 and fourteen dailies.

Not all of the smaller groups believe that nothing in Washington is better than something. Donrey Media Group's bureau, which was established in 1968. serves thirty-two dailies with a combined circulation of 416,000 and three weeklies in ten states, as well as two television stations and four radio stations in Nevada and Arkansas. "We do more for our properties than they could do for themselves if they weren't part of the group," says Terry Wade, manager of the three-person bureau. "Obviously," he says, "there's no way possible for three people to cover completely the goings on in Washington and in the congressional delegations affecting the thirty-two communities where we have papers. Ideally, one person should cover two senators and four or five representatives."

By contrast with the cavalier attitude

tional editor and three more national staffers, create a photo and graphics department, and increase the regional staff to twelve.

By comparison with most other groups, Gannett's commitment to Washington and state regional coverage is impressive. Even so, the growth of the regional staff in Washington has not kept pace with the group's overall expansion. Nor have the regional staffs of most other groups that have Washington bureaus.

In numbers of reporters devoted chiefly to local and regional coverage from Washington, Newhouse, among the groups, leads with sixteen. However, by staff/circulation ratio, Scripps-Howard newspapers lead, with one local/regional correspondent for each 185,000 in circulation.

Perhaps the most serious damage to prospects of better regional coverage has been the decline in the wire services' regional service. For almost three-fourths of the nation's daily newspapers, accounting for about one-third of the country's weekday circulation, the wires' regional staffs have represented their chief and usually sole source of localized coverage from the capital. The staffs' steady decline over the years has put many local editors even more at a disadvantage with congressional and government publicists.

Apparently, no one cause accounts for the cutbacks. Many attribute the

gional coverage." The regional staff was eliminated entirely and coverage placed on an advance request basis.

At the A.P., which had about twenty regionals in the 1940s, the staff dwindled to nine, who now have been folded into a crew of twenty covering Capitol Hill. Any one of the Hill reporters may now do regional stories, says Marvin Arrowsmith, formerly the A.P.'s bureau chief, but he concedes: "I'm not pretending that we have the same-sized staff covering regional news that we once did. We don't."

One A.P. reporter, formerly a regional, says: "If we see a good story, we are supposed to do it. And I have bumped into some and done them, but it's not as if you were a specialist covering a congressional delegation."

Sources within both bureaus report that the number of regional stories has definitely declined.

Candidly, Dillman gives this ret-

rospective assessment of his service's latter-day regional coverage: "Practically all of our regional coverage involved statements on the Hill, and as anybody knows who has been around Washington very long, most of these are pretty self-serving." One former regional reporter for the A.P. says: "I don't think many quality stories were being produced. You got the press releases from your congressmen and ground them out. As far as doing probing stories, there was very little."

One hopeful development at the A.P. has more recently emerged and may mark a turnaround. An A.P. experiment of having one full-time regional each for Texas and New York has met with success, and the service has been expanded to California and Illinois.

Decline of the wires' special regional staffs symbolizes the "back of the bus" status all too often accorded these specialists. Regional correspondence from Washington suffers from the fact that its objectives have seldom been cogently stated within the profession, its potential rarely recognized, and its quantity and quality only occasionally evaluated.

Andrew Barnes, the managing editor of the St. Petersburg Times and a former Washington reporter and editor, speaks for many when he describes the state of the art of regional correspondence, overall, as "not so hot." He adds: "A great deal of what I see as I move around [the country] is puff for the local congressman, ascribing to him a power and influence he does not, in fact, have. For every grain scandal uncovered, there are all too many clamoring voices in the back of presidential press conferences."

If there is a consensus among practitioners on any one aspect of the regional beat it is that phone calls to Washington from the home office and interviews with returning lawmakers the mainstay of a majority of dailies are singularly inadequate as a means of keeping track of members of Congress. From home, a lawmaker's claims and perceptions can seldom be crosschecked; committee work, so central to legislative life, cannot be reported directly or adequately; and the lawmaker's ties to interest groups or relationships with federal agencies go largely unexamined.

Elmer Lammi, a veteran U.P.I. regional, puts it well: "I am not saying that I am a better reporter than someone who calls up from afar. It's just that when you are here on the scene you can link what you find out from a congressman with what's going on in committees and on the floor, House and Senate, plus you can talk to several different people and you don't have the idea that this is costing you so much every minute and you can make as many calls as you want, talk to them personally and you can come back with questions."

eficient as it most often is, the practice of covering Washington via Ma Bell is far and away superior to the shabby subterfuge of printing the press releases of local lawmakers verbatim under Washington datelines, leaving the impression that what is printed beneath the headline is bona fide news written by a reporter. Thus, for example, Virginia's Lynchburg News on June 26, 1977, reprinted Representative J. Kenneth Robinson's two-page handout critical of the foreign-aid bill, but without indicating the origin of the "story" and with no other viewpoints.

Even when the wires' regional staffs were active, many staffers seldom saw the lawmakers face to face, so overloaded were the reporters. As a result, congressional offices, with their WATS lines, began phoning or telecopying their press releases straight to the wire service's state desks in their home states. The wire in Richmond is the recipient of many releases written by Jack Brooks, press secretary to Senator Harry F. Byrd, Jr. Brooks, a former Washington correspondent for the Virginian-Pilot, estimates that 80 to 90 percent of his stories, although rewritten, make the wire and that use in Virginia's thirtyseven dailies runs between twenty and twenty-five papers for each story. "The trick," Brooks said, "is not to put bummers on the wire." Brooks has tried to earn a reputation for forwarding legitimate news.

Even when diligently rewriting the most professionally written handouts, however, staffers at distant state wire desks cannot be expected to provide background, on-the-scene contextual in-

formation, or opposing viewpoints.

A mailed survey of 100 randomly chosen newspapers subscribing to only one of the wire services brought thirtysix responses to a questionnaire asking editors to evaluate the wires' regional coverage. About 60 percent of the editors said they were not getting enough news of local congressmen and senators in Washington; about 40 percent said the amount was about right; none indicated they received "too much." Further, 58 percent of the editors said there is "not enough coverage" by the wires of the impact federal agencies have on local firms and institutions; 36 percent said it was about right; 6 percent said there was "too much." And 47 percent of the editors rated the quality of congressional coverage as "fair"; 36 percent said it was "good"; 17 percent found it "poor."

In view of the meager response rate, it is difficult to infer much from these replies. In general, however, they appear to say that editors are not getting as much coverage as they would like but what they do get is fair to good. But several editors also complained that the wires did not respond promptly to story requests and that requested stories were sometimes less than adequate when received.

There is such a thing as high quality regional coverage. Much of it comes from groups, such as the Gannett, Knight-Ridder, and McClatchy newspapers, as well as from individuals, such as A. Robert Smith, the veteran independent stringer for newspapers in the northwest, and from outstanding city dailies, such as the *Des Moines Register* and *Tribune*, the Louisville *Courier-Journal*, and the *St. Petersburg Times*.

To mention only a few stories that are staples of such bureaus is to refute the erroneous notion that establishing a Washington bureau is a decision at odds with increased coverage of the newspaper's own area. Gannett's senior and chief correspondent, William Ringle, is known among euitors of the group and his colleagues in Washington as a master, among other things, of mining Washington crannies for front-page local stories. He revealed, for example, from U.S. tax court records that to "preserve his good name." the head of a small city bar association, and of its

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ethics committee, had secretly paid \$125,000 to quiet the heirs of a wealthy widow who had named him her beneficiary in her will. The local judge had sealed the records. A few years ago a friendly local congressman assured one Gannett paper that a \$125 million military facility planned for the area was "top secret." That same day Ringle reported a full description of the installation from the *public* records of the congressional armed services committees.

Last spring, James O'Shea of the *Des Moines Register*, checking the files of the U.S. tax court, uncovered a federal case charging that one of Iowa's largest stockholder-owned holding companies had bought its top officer's home for more than twice its market value. Further digging at the Securities and Exchange Commission produced another story showing that the house was later resold to a company director for half what the company had paid.

In 1975, Ward Sinclair, then of the Louisville Courier-Journal and now of The Washington Post, and Stephen Nordlinger of the Baltimore Sun were able to bring into serious question the methods used by the Ford administration and the Federal Energy Administration to compile statistics used to charge that a strip-mine bill would cost 36,000 jobs, many of them in Appalachia, and cut coal production by 162 million tons.

Thus there are reporters monitoring the federal behemoth with Main Street in mind and reducing the remoteness of government, but their work is only infrequently encouraged by the award and prestige system of Washington journalism. More important, working conditions are not conducive to developing, accumulating, and passing on the know-how of this demanding specialty. Done well, regional reporting requires a renaissance temperament and a range of knowledge surpassing that of many of Washington's more widely known national reporters. But an awareness of each other's work seldom extends beyond a group's own bureau or a handful sharing offices in the congressional press galleries.

It probably is not an exaggeration to say that for these and other reasons there is a sense of anomie among regionals. Except for those who free-lance, their work is seldom read or noted in Washington. Feedback from "home" editors is rarely what it should be.

Examining the coverage of a single episode obviously cannot provide a complete measure of performance, but it can provide a useful snapshot.

A comparison of how twenty-six daily newspapers reported one important vote — the unsuccessful June 10, 1975, attempt to override President Ford's veto of the strip-mining bill — showed a spotty performance by most and an excellent job by a few. The twenty-six dailies were newspapers whose circulations reached into the districts of twenty-two of the twenty-eight members who switched their votes to oppose the bill, after having first voted for the conference report. The results:

- ☐ Six dailies apparently failed to report how their lawmakers voted.
- □ Nine reported the vote only on the override, and only eleven noted that the override vote represented a switch in position.
- ☐ The poorest local coverage was provided by the Manchester Union-Leader, the Erie Times, the Columbus Citizen Journal (Ohio), Indianapolis News, Pierre Capital Journal, and the Sioux Falls Argus Leader of South Dakota.
- □ Enterprise accounts and detailed stories using local angles were found in stories of the *Columbus Dispatch* and the *Dayton Daily News* of Ohio, the *Indianapolis Star, Harrisburg Patriot*, the *Detroit Free Press* and the Norfolk *Virginian-Pilot*. (Unfortunately, later that year, Norfolk lost its special Washington coverage when Landmark Communications closed the three-reporter bureau serving Norfolk, Roanoke, and Greensboro.)

Ithough the wire services often carry lists of lawmakers' key votes, it is surprising how many newspapers fail to extract the information and print it. One enterprising regional correspondent, Rick Thomas, bureau chief of Ohio News Service, has a flourishing business in *Roll Call Report*, a weekly package of votes by lawmakers on Capitol Hill, now bought by more than two hundred daily newspapers. "I think a significant number of papers want something more than Roll Call but less than their own bureaus

would provide," says Thomas.

Persuading editors and publishers to pay for more extensive independent Washington coverage has been a frustrating task. "One editor of a good-sized daily told me there was nothing in Washington that affected his readers," says Leland Schwartz, one of the organizers of States' News Service. "A lot of editors picture Washington as Paris and don't have a good grasp of what Washington means to their local areas." That bureau, which began in 1973 for papers in Connecticut only, now represents thirty-five dailies in five states, with two reporters covering for each state. Capitol Hill News Service (CJR, September/October 1977) is one multistate stringer with economic problems. Costs for such independent services from individuals or multi-state bureaus range from \$40 to \$50 per week, plus the costs of copy transmission.

By no means all the ills of regional reporting can be placed at the doors of publishers unwilling to start or expand bureaus or pay for stringers. De facto isolation from peers in the press corps, ignorance of the local economies of the communities they serve, and an unwillingness to stray from routine congressional coverage are all problems that correspondents themselves can attack.

Perhaps there now is a place in Washington for an organization of regional correspondents devoted to exchanging story approaches and reporting techniques, holding background sessions with key officials, and building their specialty, as reporters have similarly done in education, business, science and, most recently, investigative reporting. A preliminary move has been taken in this direction with the workshops for young journalists sponsored by the National Press Club, one of which, led by Vivian Vahlberg of the Daily Oklahoman and Oklahoma City Times, was devoted to regional coverage.

Were it structured to stimulate the interests of distant editors, a prize for regional reporting might also serve a constructive purpose.

In short, regional correspondents who do not like it in the "back of the bus" can stand up and move toward the front. The nation's readers, a majority of whom reside west of the Potomac, would be the wiser for it.

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NEWSPAPER OR MAGAZINE AFFILIATION



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Does an article have a legal 'right to life'?

Monopolistic claims and the case of the red-cored carrots

by RONALD L. GOLDFARB

oes a writer's employer have an absolute monopolistic right to do whatever he wishes — including nothing — with an article? Or should his right be considered only that of first refusal?

The gist of the employer's argument is that he entered into a contract, paid for services and property, and should have complete ownership of the product he bought. As one editor put it, when asked to comment on whether newspaper reporters should be allowed to submit rejected articles to other publications, "Anything done on company time is company property."

One need not quarrel with the basic editors' viewpoint about contracts, property law, or labor law in order to disagree with the conclusion it leads to in this instance.

First of all, the law recognizes that literary property is unique. As one court, in a case dealing with a dispute over the sale of a story to the movies, put it:

It is obvious that sales involving literary property are different in some respects from the sale of ordinary goods . . . literary properties . . . are products of the mind, plus skill [and they] utilize matters in the public domain.

A second and related point was made

Ronald L. Goldfarb is a Washington, D.C. attorney who writes regularly about the administration of justice.



by the late Associate Supreme Court Justice John Harlan in a libel case against *Look* magazine. Harlan wrote:

The dissemination of the individual's opinions on matters of public interest is for us, in the historic words of the Declaration of Independence, an "inalienable right" that "governments are instituted among men to secure."

Thirdly, the courts will not enforce contractual arrangements which violate public policy or which are unconscion-

JOURNALISM AND THE LAW

able. Courts in a variety of contexts — unfair competition cases and wills contests, for example — have refused to enforce agreements whose terms go against public policy. Years ago, one Kentucky court described the underlying principle:

It has been said that a contract is against public policy if it is injurious to the interests of the public, or contravenes some established interest of society, or some public statute or is against good morals, or tends to interfere with the public welfare or safety. . . . In applying this rule, it has been said that contracts are against public policy when they tend to injustice or oppression, restraint.

An analogous case makes my point. In the late 1940s, the Campbell Soup Company contracted with a Pennsylvania farmer who raised Chantenay red-cored carrots on his fifteen-acre farm. Campbell contracted to buy all fifteen acres of the farmer's carrots to use in its soups. Under the contract, Campbell had the right to refuse the carrots but the grower could not sell them elsewhere unless Campbell agreed. The farmer and the company got into a dispute that led to a court ruling which has been adopted as the Uniform Commercial Code's standard on unconscionability - that is, unfairness.

he court refused to enjoin the farmer's sale to a third party, on the ground that while Campbell retained the right to refuse the farmer's carrots it prohibited him from selling them elsewhere. The court wrote: "This is the kind of provision which the late Francis H. Bolen would call carrying a good joke too far." The federal court added: "That equity does not enforce unconscionable bargains is too well established to require elaborate citation."

It seems to me that a writing deserves at least as much respect as the best Chantenay red-cored carrot. Certainly if one believes in the public's right to know and that no one person should determine what ideas are good, it stands to reason that a writing has a right to live. Neither the courts nor the legislatures have been called upon to decide the issue. If and when they do so, they should rule that when one buys the services of a writer, one has purchased simply the right to publish his writing, not the absolute right to play God with it.

BOOKS

Innocents abroad?

The Media Are American: Anglo-American Media in the World by Jeremy Tunstall. Columbia University Press. 352 pp. \$14.95

Conspiracy buffs will find what they seek in The Media Are American - exhaustive evidence that Americans and their British junior partners own, control, or influence the production, flow, and reception of news, information, and entertainment all over the world. For instance, the offerings of British-run Visnews are received by 99 percent of the world's television sets. The two largest advertising agencies in India in 1973 were J. Walter Thompson and McCann-Erickson. The Associated Press estimates that in 1971 more than a billion people outside the U.S. were exposed daily to its version of the news.

But, Tunstall contends, the power of the Anglo-American axis has actually waned over the last quarter century. So is it possible, after all, that the great empire was put together piecemeal and not masterminded? That American media hegemony was nothing more cosmic than a short-lived commercial heyday?

A professor of sociology at City University in London and a veteran student of the media, Tunstall certainly is no defender of the conduct of the Anglo-American community of interests nor of its efforts to preserve its influence. Above all, he appears to be a social scientist with an uncommon talent for remaining faithful to his facts.

Tunstall reveals bit by bit a pattern in the events that have made U.P.I., BBC, and R.C.A. household initials on every habitable continent. And he does so with restraint: he explains the worldwide adoption (via American journalism schools, newspaper syndication, and

U.N. agencies) of American press values as the result of a lack of alternative established models, and the diversification of newspapers and radio stations into multi-media networks and conglomerates as more inevitable than sinister. To him, the commercialism of the media in the United States seems to have been born of a historical coincidence that only gradually came to appear less than innocent. Still, he never minimizes the extent of monopoly, commercialism, or sensationalism.

Tunstall's greatest strength is revealed in his presentation of his thesis: the media are indisputably American, he reasons, but he does not claim (as have Herbert Schiller and others) that, as Tunstall paraphrases it, "American television exports are part of an attempt by the American military industrial complex to subjugate the world." Tunstall is not afraid to offer a moderate's canny view - that a full understanding of Anglo-American dominance will escape minds too doctrinaire to see that media imperialism is different from any other kind of imperialism. It's the ifs - often introduced two or three at a time - that give his argument its rudder, enabling readers to avoid both paranoia and indifference about the possible effects of Anglo-American media on the global village. "If American multi-national companies are regarded as instruments of neo-imperialism," Tunstall says, "then a company like RCA-NBC, also a defense contractor, is clearly one such instrument." Or if the fact that "certain people in New York and Washington plan a world-wide sales strategy - including tactics for persuading governments to change their minds - constitutes media imperialism," then . . . well, why belabor the spider's interest in the fly?

Tunstall has no remedies worth discussing. He issues the required calls for further research and cooperation, for the creation of hybrid media that combine traditional and modern elements, and for the elimination of the urban bias in broadcasting. He also puts in one more plea for heightened sensitivity to the communication needs of the Third World.

The service Tunstall performs is of quite another kind. What he offers is a perspective on a case that is almost but not quite settled — the sort of perspective, that is, from which the nature of needed changes becomes a little clearer.

KATHLEEN COURRIER

Kathleen Courrier is the editor of the Development Communication Report, a quarterly newsletter published by the Clearinghouse on Development Communication, in Washington.

Supermag

The Condensed World of the Reader's Digest

by Samuel A. Schreiner, Jr. Stein and Day. 239 pp. \$10

A lively and never more than mildly critical look by a former Digest senior editor at the origins, growth, and methods of operation of the world's most widely read magazine. Schreiner emphasizes the remarkable editorial genius of the Digest's founders, DeWitt and Lila Wallace, now in their late eighties and still very much in control of their creation, which each month sells more than thirty million copies in 170 countries and thirteen languages. He offers a brief history of the magazine (first issue: February 1922); a description of its remarkable business successes, its editorial practices, its generous, if occasionally somewhat mysterious, treatment of employees and writers; and, finally, speculation about its future after the Wallaces. (Schreiner finds plausible the astonishing prediction of an unnamed source, apparently a *Digest* executive: "When Wallace goes, the Digest goes with him.") Like an article in the magazine, the book is full of pointed anecdotes — it could have been called *The Most Unforgettable Magazine I Ever Met.*R.C.S.

In the watchdoghouse

Reluctant Regulators: The FCC and the Broadcast Audience

by Barry Cole and Mal Oettinger. Addison-Wesley. 310 pp. \$10.95

This book will dismay those who count on the Federal Communications Commission to improve the quality of broadcasting. It provides ammunition both to those who think the F.C.C. should have more resources and power and to those who believe that its existence does more to compromise the First Amendment than to further the public interest. Cole, a former F.C.C. consultant, and Oettinger, who has covered the commission for Broadcasting and Television/Radio Age, describe the overworked F.C.C. staff's reluctance to arouse the seven commissioners; the commissioners' reluctance to annoy broadcasters or Congress; and Congress's reluctance to annoy broadcasters, who are essential to politicians at election time - and who are skilled at stroking members of Congress and F.C.C. commissioners.

The authors note the political nature of the commissioners' seven-year appointments, the sketchy and uneven quality of what regulating they do, and the commission's almost instinctive distaste for the public in general and public-interest groups in particular, especially those that try to bully the agency into action.

Nevertheless, the F.C.C. has had to pay more attention to the public in recent years. The book concludes with a lengthy account of the efforts of Action for Children's Television, one of the more skilled citizens' groups, to reduce the number of commercials broadcast on television programs directed at children. ACT's success suggests that such

groups accomplish more if righteous anger is aided by political acumen and knowledge of how the industry and the F.C.C. work. This detailed and valuable book should help to provide the latter, if not the former.

R.C.S.

Newspaper futures

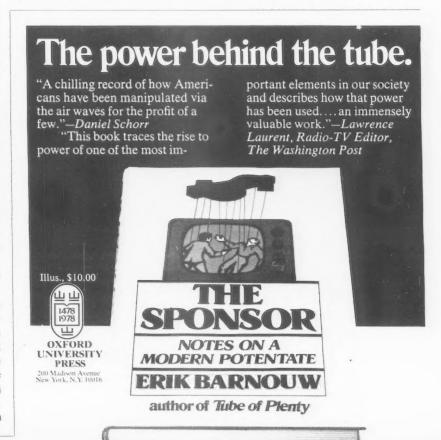
Future Directions of the Newspaper Industry; The 1980s and Beyond

by Benjamin M. Compaine. Knowledge Industry Publications. 2 volumes, 354 pp. \$550 first copy, \$50 each additional copy; paper

As the list price indicates, this is not your ordinary bookstore book, but a study compiled for specialists who can write off \$550 without blinking. (The publisher kindly supplied the *Review* a copy without charge.)

By definition, these two typescript volumes comprise a study of newspapers "primarily as a business institution." They contain clean, well-organized financial, marketing, and technological information, most valuable, it would appear, for potential investors and others who are not themselves newspaper managers. Those already in the business may find that the study relies too much on conventional research sources. For example, a good deal of space is given to the record of newspaper suspensions, mergers, and starts; these and other statistics are really no more than dressed-up data from *Editor & Publisher Year Book*.

Still, Compaine makes interesting enough forecasts, a key one being that he sees no striking change coming in the next two decades in the format of the daily newspaper, even while the pace of technological change in newspaper production accelerates. He finds that the cost-cutting made possible by the new technology and the ability to raise advertising and subscription rates have helped make the business profitable, but he warns that future health depends on bigger circulation and more advertising — a difficult order for what he calls "a thoroughly mature business."



UNFINISHED BUSINESS

The controversial cotton tale

TO THE REVIEW:

As two of the journalists whose coverage of the brown-lung controversy Bob Hall finds wanting [CJR. March/April], we are compelled to raise several points.

First, we wonder if the Columbia Journalism Review would assign James Finley. the board chairman of J.P. Stevens, to write a critique of press coverage of the textile industry or brown lung. Obviously not. Then why select Mr. Hall, who is a member of the board of a group called Southerners for Economic Justice, which is funded by a \$58,000 grant from the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union to put pressure on J.P. Stevens and otherwise assist the union's organizing effort? Moreover, Hall's magazine, Southern Exposure, of which he is managing editor, is openly pro-union and anti-Stevens. (A recent fifth-anniversary issue notes that "staff members are working overtime with two movements in the textile industry: the unionization drive at J.P. Stevens and Company, and the organization of the victims of cotton dust through the Carolina Brown Lung Association.") Hall also appeared recently for the second year in a row at the Stevens shareholders meeting to offer pro-union resolutions and assail Stevens management.

All of this is, of course, quite legitimate—some would say admirable—but scarcely qualification for objective criticism. Which may explain why Hall incorrectly states that a *Times* article on brown lung fails to mention the Carolina Brown Lung Association, neatly overlooking the following sentence: "Her lung problem was recently diagnosed as byssinosis by doctors working for the Carolina Brown Lung Association, a group formed a few years ago by unionists and church activists."

Hall also finds lacking an article describing the economic troubles of the textile industry, an article which he condemns primarily on the ground that the union found it "outrageous." The article, by the way, was only tangentially about brown lung, but this did not deter Hall, who called originally with a somewhat hysterical line of questioning beginning with who "ordered" the Times article, suggesting the Times was

somehow involved in some unholy alliance with the textile industry.

He also managed to overlook the following paragraph in the article:

Textile workers, on the other hand, particularly unionists, contend that the economic crisis facing the industry resulted in large measure from the failure of owners to acknowledge health problems and low wages long ago and begin to work on them.

Again, we have no quarrel with Hall's efforts on behalf of brown-lung victims, or Stevens workers. What we do object to is a broadside masquerading as a press review. We would suggest that Hall is a polemicist, not a journalist — a distinction that seems to escape the *Columbia Journalism Review*.

WAYNE KING B. DRUMMOND AYRES JR. The New York Times Atlanta

TO THE REVIEW:

Accuracy and an interest in fairness should have prompted you to point out that Hall is a union-oriented, activist journalist. For at least the second time, Hall as the owner of three shares of J. P. Stevens stock, introduced a union-inspired resolution at the company's annual stockholders' meeting March 8. The resolution was overwhelmingly defeated.

Hall's bias is enough to impeach the accuracy of his article. I should point out, however, that Kelly Sisk has never asked me in the nearly five years I have been chief operating officer of *The Greenville News* (and *Piedmont*) to publish any kind of story, favorable or unfavorable, about the textile industry or any other business. Nor have I ever asked an editor or reporter to give biased coverage to any institution or individual. Hall could have determined these facts with a few telephone calls to our staffs. Such inquiry might also have revealed to him the inaccuracies of his statements about the depth and volume of our coverage of byscinosics.

R. T. ESKEW President The Greenville News and Piedmont

TO THE REVIEW:

I feel the need to elaborate slightly on the remarks Hall attributed to me in his arti-

cle. In the course of our interview in Hall's Chapel Hill office I attempted to outline what I understand to be the history of the Greensboro Daily News coverage of the brown-lung issue. I remarked there had been some early stories in the late 1960s when the Daily News was known primarily as an issue-oriented newspaper with a great deal of political influence in the state. In the early 1970s, with a lot of other papers, the management decided the paper would function better if the emphasis of the coverage was shifted to people and their everyday lives, away from political and governmental news. That is a philosophy of coverage management has the right to adopt; in the course of carrying out that philosophy, other functions of the newspaper might not have gotten the attention they should have. At least that is the way it seems to me; I am not privy to management decisions, and those questions might better have been handled by an editor

The comments Hall attributed to me about "how many stories can you write about someone who can't breathe" were not my sentiments but my summary of the attitude which can dominate a paper more interested in people stories than issues of occupational health. I wish Hall had been clear in making the distinction I was careful to make.

urther, he says The Charlotte Observer is the only paper between New York and Atlanta with a labor desk. The Observer is the only paper that can afford to put a full-time reporter on labor, perhaps, but that does not mean the subject is ignored. Rick Nichols, now on leave from the News and Observer, has been covering labor issues as part of his state desk assignment for some time now, and effective the first of the year, when the beats of the dozen reporters on the Daily News were realigned, I was assigned to cover both labor and agriculture for the paper. Neither of those assignments is a full-time labor desk, but it is more attention than was attributed to either the Daily News or the News and Observer.

One additional point I made in my interview with Hall did not make it into the final version of his piece: I said six months ago I did not think the *Daily News* was committed to coverage of things like brown lung. I am

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still not satisfied with the commitment of the paper to stir things up in its own backyard, but I have seen signs the paper may be changing. The next few months will tell on that, and the change could well be back toward the sort of coverage the paper should provide on such issues as the health and safety of the workplace and labor organizing in a state with the lowest rate of unionization in the country.

RICK GRAY Greensboro Daily News

TO THE REVIEW:

I have always been taught in this business to look for something constructive in all criticism, regardless of the source. Unfortunately, I find little that is constructive in the Review's recent analysis of brown-lung reporting by The Greenville News and Piedmont. It was nothing short of outright assassination.

I am submitting our entire brown-lung file for 1977 to CJR for review and responsible critique by its staff and editors. I would also appreciate the opportunity to address a few of the specifics of Hall's assertions.

Bob Hall has attempted to document a link between the Greenville News-Piedmont Company and the textile industry. He cited the fact that Kelly Sisk, chairman of the board of Multimedia and publisher of News-Piedmont, sits on the board of Dan River, Inc. Hall further emphasizes that Paul Barrett, spokesman for J. P. Stevens and Co., is a former managing editor of the Piedmont

However, Hall revealed his lack of understanding regarding the news operations of News-Piedmont and the personality of Kelly Sisk. The newsrooms are run by the respective managing editors, who answer to executive editor H. Doyle Harvill and Rhea T. Eskew, co-publisher and president of News-Piedmont. I have been with this organization for more than a year and I have never been introduced to Kelly Sisk.

Regarding the philosophy of management here, I would like to cite a quotation attributed to Sisk and published locally and by Editor & Publisher: "Our philosophy in operating properties is to get a good, well-balanced business and give a fellow a chance to run it. If he [an editor] wants to be a flaming liberal, then it's up to him. I could walk right back into our news department in Greenville, and if I would ask you to write something, you would tell me to go to hell and I know you should." How in the world could a man, in good conscience, allow such quotes to be widely circulated and then even attempt to dictate newsroom policy?

As for Mr. Barrett and his associations with News-Piedmont, I met him for the first time March 6, while lunching with our sports editor, who has been with News-Piedmont since 1947 and knew Barrett from his days with the *Piedmont*. Barrett walked over to speak with the sports editor, who introduced Barrett to me. After this brief and awkward encounter I can only say that 1) I am pleased that Mr. Barrett is no longer associated with these newspapers and 2) I am beginning to understand the problems reporters have in dealing with Stevens.

One of the main themes of Bob Hall's article is his assertion that nothing was locally written on brown lung until the national media covered the April 26 hearings on OSHA regulations. The News published a lengthy September 29, 1975, article headlined RAW COTTON HANDLERS HIT MOST OFTEN BY BYSSINOSIS and a full-page spread September 5, 1976, detailing the human tragedy of brown lung and the fledgling Brown Lung Association's efforts to inform the public. And the Piedmont published a December 30, 1976 article headlined, UNION HITS OSHA RULING DELAY, which laid out the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union's criticism of delays in implementing cotton-dust standards. These articles were readily accessible in our library files, and I presume Bob Hall would have found them, had he bothered to look.

ob Hall praised Rick Nichols's "sobsister" articles on the brown-lung tragedy. He ignored the following articles published by *News-Piedmont:* Byssinosis: Legacy of Millworkers, September 5, 1976; The Mill's IN Willie's Blood, May 24, 1977; Brown Lung Finally Official, May 24, 1977, which leads off: "'I just started giving out on the job,' said Alvin Wood, 61, a retired Burlington Mills worker with 45 years experience in cotton mills. . "; DISABLED FLOCK TO LUNG HEARING, December 9, 1977, which detailed testimony by brown-lung victims.

Bob Hall says News-Piedmont failed to staff committee hearings on brown-lung legislation, although we have a capitol reporter. Anyone who has ever tried to cover the legislature knows full well the nightmare of trying to staff every important legislative hearing. News-Piedmont did carry extensive wire-service reports. And we were the only South Carolina papers to come back and detail the shortcomings of the brown-lung compensation law. I cite our June 28 article. NO MILLWORKERS APPLYING FOR BROWN LUNG BENEFITS, which points out that thousands are estimated to have brown lung

in South Carolina and that a lack of information and the stringent requirement of the former law are limiting applications, attributed to the president of the Brown Lung Association. The *Piedmont* published a similar article August 3, LUNG LEGISLATION CALLED INADEQUATE BY BLA HEAD. These are but examples of back-and-forth debate over this legislation and subsequent coverage by both papers.

The CJR article declares that News-Piedmont is a spokesman for the textile industry. Bob Hall cites a three-part series on the textile crisis, dealing with labor, imports, and federal regulation. Incidentally, that article was assigned following a front-page article in The New York Times written by Wayne King. News-Piedmont covers textiles. We like to think we are the "spokesman" in the same manner that capital newspapers are the "spokesman" for state government, and The Detroit News is the "spokesman" for the auto industry. As for fifteen of thirty graphs being direct quotes by industry sources, examine any state capital newspaper and count the quotes attributed to state officials. It is a journalistic disease which afflicts us all. In defense of the reporter, it was her first effort on a textile story and I'm sure she was unsure of the basic facts and felt compelled to attribute everything.

Hall has written that no newspapers have examined the role of the medical community in the brown-lung controversy. Although not entirely true, I'm certain it is a question of expertise, which even the brown-lung advocates seem to lack. However, the News did publish one article raising the question. I wish we could take credit for initiating it, but we cannot. In February 1977 a Brown Lung Association official called our newsroom late at night. He charged that a prominent local physician resigned from the state medical panel that reviews brown-lung compensation claims. He further alleged that his group had forced the resignation because the doctor had performed pulmonary examinations for Liberty Mutual involving claims against the company. Despite the inability to reach official sources, we chased the story out with the doctor's denial, and in the face of threats of legal action against the newspaper. The story appeared on the front page the next morning. Is this the newspaper that conspires with the textile industry?

I could go on but I simply don't have the time and CIR surely doesn't have the space. Our folks are hurt, particularly the younger staffers who've yet to harden to baseless assaults on their performance. I'm irritated because Hall failed to work with us or to con-

tact us regarding his article, although numerous reporters from other papers were quoted. In addition, he declined an offer to review our files while in Greenville for the annual J. P. Stevens stockholders meeting. I have since mailed him our entire file.

I'm afraid Bob Hall has made the cardinal sin of confusing editorial-page prerogative and objective news-page reporting. I want to believe that Hall and CJR went into this article intending to offer some constructive criticism. Heaven knows *The Greenville News* and *Piedmont* are far from perfection, and I don't want to do anything to discourage CJR and the Bob Halls from questioning the performance of newspapers, especially *The Greenville News* and *Piedmont*.

JOHN S. PITTMAN Managing editor The Greenville News

Bob Hall replies: My own perspective on the story is, indeed, shaped by my position with Southern Exposure magazine, a publication deeply involved in the social progress of this region. As managing editor, I serve on the boards of several nonprofit organizations whose activities complement the magazine's goals, which were stated in the fifth anniversary issue quoted by Ayres and King: "To nurture 1) critical thinking about the region's problems and potentials and 2) skilled organizing of citizen-based institutions for self-determination."

I am a board member of Southerners for Economic Justice. along with Maynard Jackson, Julian Bond, several clergy and attorneys, and the regional heads of such organizations as the N.A.A.C.P., A.C.L.U., and the American Friends Service Committee. To think that any of these men or women are pawns of organized labor is ludicrous. We announced in our founding press conference, which King covered, that S.E.J. had received a grant from the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union. (Other funds for staff and educational programs have come from the Robert F. Kennedy Memorial, Union Theological Seminary, the Law Students Civil Rights Research Council, the United Auto Workers, and individual donors such as Ruby Dee and Ossie Davis.) We also made it clear in that first press conference that S.E.J.'s goal is not to promote big unionism but to promote the exercise of democratic freedom by working Southerners and thus extend into the workplace the battle for civil rights, of which we were all veterans. Southern Exposure is probably indicative of the board's independence in that we have frequently criticized in our pages activities by unions - including the A.C.T.W.U. which subvert the interests and power of rank-and-file workers.

As an individual and small stockholder, I have frequently criticized the policies pursued by J.P. Stevens. Neither my criticism nor my resolutions at the stockholders' meeting have been "union-inspired" as the letter writers suggest. In fact, I learned about the educational value of raising issues at a company's annual stockholders' meeting while a student at Union Theological Seminary. If anything, my resolutions were "churchinspired." In 1976, I sponsored a resolution at the Stevens annual meeting calling for a study of the company's treatment of Southern workers. Only after that meeting received extensive press coverage did the union decide to enter the picture with a "corporate campaign" of its own. They followed my lead, not vice versa.

I avoided focusing my article on the brown-lung problem at J.P. Stevens because of my personal concern about that company and because I have gotten inside the problem of brown-lung organizing and union organizing well enough to know that the two are very different - and at times at odds with one another. I have also studied the brownlung issue enough to see through the publicrelations flackery passed out by industry spokesmen, but at the same time I am also enough inside the journalism business to know the limits of what can be expected of working reporters. That combination of knowledge, I presume, is why CJR asked me to do the story.

ecause of my perspective and experience, much of my critique focused on the narrow range of sources used by reporters in covering the brown-lung story. I don't think quality journalism can settle for Wayne King's one-sentence mention of industry critics in a twenty-five-inch article in The New York Times reporting on TEXTILE INDUSTRY FACING THREATS ON IMPORTS, LABOR, HEALTH RULES, I don't understand how King can contend that the brown-lung story was "tangential" to an article that includes a section that begins: "The third element at work in the industry is the mounting concern about the effects on workers of high levels of cotton dust and ear-shattering noise in some textile manufacturing processes." Two sentences later King writes, "Industry estimates, largely corroborated by outside agencies, say that bringing the cotton-dust and noise problems within the guidelines proposed by OSHA would cost the industry \$5 billion to \$6 billion over the next few years." In fact, the cost of meeting the standards was a hotly contested issue, especially between union and industry spokesmen, at the hearings. Such one-sided reporting is clearly not all the news fit to print. Ayres and King resort to calling me "hysterical"; all my article said was that if King had talked with other sources his piece would have been vastly improved.

That's the same simple point I made about Ayres's article, though I must apologize for overlooking his fleeting reference to the C.B.L.A. For the record, I suppose I should point out that the one mention, which the Ayres-King letter quotes, comes in the last paragraph and is itself a slight distortion. The doctor who diagnosed Flossie Strickland was an independent pulmonary specialist and was in no way "working for the Carolina Brown Lung Association" — a phrase that tends to jeopardize the doctor's credibility.

Enough of this bickering. I hope Ayres and King, good reporters that they are, will write more on the brown-lung story and will use more sources so their future pieces will be more balanced.

I really have no argument with Rick Gray's letter. We just disagree on how well the quotes from him I used delineate the difference between his personal opinion and his paper's management policy. His letter reveals more about the larger context in which he works, and it is indeed enlightening.

As for the letter from the Greenville News-Piedmont management, I respect Mr. Pittman's eagerness to defend his reporters and I am truly sorry if I "hurt" any of them. I'm a little hurt myself to see Pittman try to squeeze in the charge that I "declined an offer to review our files." The offer was made after the CJR article had appeared. In point of fact, I had already researched the bulk of the stories. The problem then, as now, is that there is not enough space (and probably not enough reader interest) to analyze every newspaper's coverage article by article. For the Carolinas, I restricted myself to the morning papers. Only in Columbia did I include the reporting of Jan Stucker in the afternoon Record, because of her exceptional work. I might have done the same for the exceptional work of Bob Raissman in the Greenville Piedmont except for one fact: by the time I began my article he had been fired. In the four months he worked for the Piedmont, Raissman managed to write fully 50 percent of the by-lined articles on brown lung carried by either paper for all of 1975 and 1976 and 1977.

For those four months, the *Piedmont* did have excellent coverage, but in the context of three years (and of Raissman's firing) it becomes more suspicious than meritorious.

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Other points in Pittman's letter seem to substantiate, rather than discredit, my analysis of his paper. He cites one article in each paper to protest what he terms my "assertion that nothing was locally written on brown lung until the national media covered the April 26 hearings on OSHA regulations." But his evidence confirms what I actually wrote: "The OSHA hearings marked a turning point in the reporting of brown lung in both the Southern and the national press."

Pittman's boast about the June 28 article. NO MILL WORKERS APPLYING FOR BROWN-LUNG BENEFITS, does not hold up when one reads the article. The article said that none of the estimated 23,000 byssinosis victims had applied for brown-lung benefits in the month the new law had been in effect, leaving the reader with the impression that the law was useless or ineffective. Significantly, the article failed to point out that the only people eligible to apply for compensation under the new law are those who retired after May 24. I can't think of a better example of how to twist a story to make the advocates of brown-lung reform look ridiculous.

Finally, Pittman cites a February 1977 article as evidence that his newspaper "examined the role of the medical community in the brown-lung controversy." His letter gives the details of the article; it was not an examination of anything other than the resignation from the medical panel of a local physician.

It should be obvious by now that all I'm trying to say is that newspapers need to do more investigative work, rely less on industry and "established" sources, and devote more attention to the voices of the underrepresented and to their organizational attempts to achieve some measure of equity and justice. If that's a perspective that warps my judgment, so be it.

Editors' note: To answer directly the question put by Wayne King and B. Drummond Avres, Jr.: whether we would assign James Finley, the board chairman of J.P. Stevens, to write a critique of press coverage of the textile industry or of brown lung - no, we would not, although we would welcome his comments. However, we believe that King and Avres have propounded a false equation: Bob Hall is a journalist, not the head of either a corporation or a union; that he has also been an activist does not, in our opinion, either disqualify him from the assignment or negate his article. But Hall was remiss in not informing us of outside activities relating to the article, and the editors were remiss in not finding out about them from him. Had we known, the information would properly have been included in the biographical box printed with the article.

Behavior modification

Reacting to criticism of its psychological testing policies as an invasion of journalists' privacy ("Knight-Ridder Wants to Know the Real You." by Francis Pollock, CJR, January/February), the Knight-Ridder organization this winter announced several procedural changes in the testing program. The Guilford-Zimmerman Temperament Survey is no longer being administered to editorial, production/mechanical, and supervisory personnel (top-level management remains the sole exception), and the "draw-a-person" part of the Test of Creative Thinking has been eliminated. "It is felt by Dr. [Douglas C.] Harris and his staff," concluded a February 23 internal memo, "that these changes are in our best interests at this time."

Restrained coverage

TO THE REVIEW:

It was a pleasure to find "The Taming of the Korean Press" by Sunwoo Nam in your March/April issue. As a thirteen-year resident of Seoul, active both in the advertising business and as stringer for CBS News, I was in a position to observe and report on the events he recorded for you.

Of equal interest is the government's efforts to restrain or control reports filed by reporters for the foreign press. This effort has in no way diminished, as indicated by an article in the February 22 Korea Herald, announcing the expulsion of former Washington Post correspondent John Saar after his recent arrival in Seoul. Saar provided valuable, in-depth coverage of the political trials during 1976 and it looks as though they still hold it against him.

JOHN C. STICKLER Walnut Creek, Calif.

Talking pictures

TO THE REVIEW:

Douglas Zoloth Foster's article in the March/April Review casts more than a reasonable doubt on the authenticity of the Cambodian "horror" photographs that reputable American media have accepted and published as genuine. While Foster's conclusions are based on the account of the pictures' peripatetic arrival onto the pages of Time, Newsweek, The Washington Post and others. I believe his thesis can be corroborated by examination of what the photos depict. Surely this method is as valid as reporting third-hand comments of unnamed "Khmer watchers" or what a source says. The photos speak for themselves, though not

everyone may see them as I do.

In the "execution" photo, the "executioner" and the "guard" at the far left both appear to be smiling broadly, an incongruous expression in the circumstances. The "executioner" seems to be wielding not an ax, as reported, but a hoe, and he appears to be striking the "victim" with the upper, back side of the blade rather than with the more dangerous cutting edge.

After taking a few test swings with a broom, I concluded the overall posture of the "executioner" is not that of a man striking a forceful, fatal blow: he should have been bent forward, with his knees flexed. I believe this figure to be standing still over the "victim" (if an entire roll of film exists, shouldn't it be possible to say if the image of the "ax" should be blurred, based on the film speed?).

Before leaving the "execution" picture, it should be noted that the "guard" mentioned above appears not to have his forefinger on the trigger of his M-16. This and most of the points I have mentioned would probably be clearer on glossy reproductions.

Turning to the "forced labor" picture, I'm no experienced "Khmer watcher," but I did spend eighteen months in Vietnam as an adviser to ethnic minority security forces, during which time I had the opportunity to observe briefly Cambodian government troops training in Vietnam. I've seen Indochinese of various nationalities carrying M-16s in the manner shown, and it's all the more likely in this photo, since the "Khmer Rouge" in the foreground has no sling on his rifle to make any other carry convenient. But perhaps the U.S.IIndochina Report's "Khmer watchers" are correct about the uniforms.

Finally, if an entire roll of such pictures is available, it would be interesting to see other shots to test for incongruities such as those noted above. My interpretation is subjective, granted, but I do agree with Foster that the authenticity of the photographs is doubtful.

STUART J. BULLION Minneapolis

Second coming

TO THE REVIEW:

I want to take exception to a couple of points made by Charles Steinberg in his generally scintillating article, "Why Wait for a Second Carnegie Report?" in the March/April issue.

Public television has become "corporate television," according to Steinberg, because it has accepted corporate support for its programs. The facts show, however, that if anyone owns public television — except of course the local licensees — it is the people who watch it. After all, they contribute

nearly 25 percent of all public television's non-federal income. In comparison, corporations provide a little over 8 percent. The point, of course, is that no *one* group controls public television, including the federal government, which provides just about 26 percent of the total revenues for public television. It is the mix of funding sources — federal, state and local governments, universities, viewers, corporations, and foundations — that gives public television its independence and its insulation.

No money comes without its obligations. Yet to public television's benefit, this mix of funding sources tends to offset and cancel out such obligations. For example, if corporate support cannot be found for a particular program, other sources of funding can usually be relied on. Corporate funds might then be channeled to program areas for which this other support was initially targeted. The whole system benefits from increased revenues and no degree of independence is lost. Public television is beholden to no one, since its support comes from everyone.

n another point, Steinberg claims I "expressed satisfaction that the [Carnegie] Commission would not have the benefit of scholars in the field." Hardly my sentiments. What I did say, in a speech given in Washington last June at a PBS Public Information and Development Conference, was: "... It seemed to me there was a danger of having outsiders people without backgrounds in broadcasting, perhaps scholars over-fascinated with bluesky hardware and plumbing - determining what public television should be, while we (in public television) were stretching starvation rations to carry out the mission of delivering first-class programs to the American people." I went on to explain: "The organizing charter of the Commission has turned me around completely. First of all, the people who are going to be involved constitute a strong and responsible group with lots of broadcasting experience and knowledge of what our enterprise is up to. . . . "

I feel the same today as I did last summer. I would no more want to see good academic minds excluded from the Commission than I would artists, executives, and those who have devoted so much of their lives to broadcasting. The talents of all of these people are necessary if the Carnegie Commission is going to do its job, which is to take a hard look at how much money public television needs to build a first-class nationwide system, and how to assure that level of funding over the next quarter century as public television moves ahead to meet this goal.

Steinberg and I agree more than we disagree. He is absolutely right to suggest that the overriding issue is funding, and the country cannot afford to have Congress wait for a report, many months off, until it determines a five-year funding plan for public broadcasting. Creative programming is directly tied to the availability of adequate funding, as Steinberg points out. It is amazing to me, frankly, what public television has been able to offer to date, given the grossly inadequate funding support it has had. Just think what public television programs might be possible, if it received near the support the medium gets in other countries, such as Britain (where BBC expenses come to over \$4 per capita) or Japan (where NKH expenses amount to over \$5 per capita), instead of the pennies we spend on public television in the U.S. Just think what public television could do, if its total yearly revenues came close to just the annual profits of commercial broadcasting - over \$1 billion.

It's not the contributors who threaten public television. What we need are lots more of the same, as openhanded as possible.

LAWRENCE K. GROSSMAN President, PBS Washington, D.C. TO THE REVIEW:

Steinberg's article raises an interesting possibility (an excise tax on television sets) for the financing of what he calls "public broadcasting," but the proposal ignores, as did Steinberg, radio. For that matter, it is not at all clear that such a tax would raise enough money to support a first-class publictelevision system. But it is clear that we are going to have to begin to think seriously about methods of financing public television and public radio other than annual congressional appropriations. Here at National Public Radio we are pleased that some of the congressional leadership on the subject, as well as the Carnegie Commission, is prepared to consider the possibility of different and perhaps separate ways of funding both elements of public broadcasting.

> FRANK MANKIEWICZ National Public Radio Washington, D.C.

Paternity suit

A laurel in the March/April *Review* taking note of the growing number of investigations of judicial performance and describing Jack Newfield of *The Village Voice* as the pro-

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For everyone who considers newspapers to be important and special, the closing of the Chicago Daily News, March 4, 1978, was a sad time. For the capable and loyal staff directly affected by the closing it was — and for some still is — a critical time.

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genitor of the trend has brought a note from Jack Limpert of *The Washingtonian* magazine. Re Newfield's designation as "the daddy of them all," Limpert writes, *The Washingtonian* began rating judges way back in September 1970, when its article "Some Call It Justice" won the Sigma Delta Chi award for public service in magazine journalism.

Indonesia update

In "Southeast Asia's Intimidated Press" (CJR, March/April), David DeVoss was unable to include details about the Indonesian government's closing of seven newspapers. Here is his report of the situation in Jakarta as of early March:

The seven newspapers in Jakarta that were closed by the government in January for covering the anti-government student demonstrations in Central Java were allowed to resume publication prior to the March 23 Suharto reelection, but they displayed none of their former initiative. In order to publish each editor was forced to promise that his paper would help maintain national stability and be willing to act as a "calming influence in tense situations."

At first the editors negotiated for a better deal. They agreed to engage in a certain amount of soul-searching and introspection. But in so doing all suggested the government itself might benefit from a little introspection. The Palace was not amused. When the papers reopened the government suggestions were supplemented by the direct prohibition on reporting student political activities.

By early March Suharto's muzzling of the press was complete. When government troops occupied the Bandung Institute of Technology, news of the event circulated around Jakarta by word of mouth only. Singapore dailies carrying front-page wireservice accounts were smeared with printer's ink before being allowed through customs.

Suharto's draconian censorship embarrassed many of his supporters. The chairman of the twenty-seven-member Supreme Advisory Council, Wilopo (most Indonesians have only one name), said the military crackdown had turned Indonesia's newspapers into a "tasteless" jumble of publications afraid to voice an opinion. "The press should report about the feeling of unrest among the people and search for possible clues," he said, quickly adding "but it must refrain from sharpening the issues."

Indonesia's press will recover slowly. In addition to the taboo subject of student dissent, it is barred from quoting influential moderates critical of the government.

Former defense minister A. H. Nasution, playwright W. S. Rendra and Bung Tomo, hero of Indonesia's independence struggle against the Dutch, are among six persons newspapers may no longer quote.

Indonesia's editors have lost their freedom of expression but not all their hope. "These limitations are disastrous," sighed one reporter, "but there's too much potential here to give up. Things will have to improve. Eventually."

Fatal flaw

TO THE REVIEW:

Frankly, I was rather startled to read Daniel Friesen of Accuracy in Media in a letter to the *Review* [March/April] questioning the accuracy of an article without having interviewed either the author or the publisher on the matter in question.

The matter in question is auto fatality statistics compiled by the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration from 1975 to 1978 and used by the Ford Motor Company to refute publicly an estimate of 500 burn deaths in Ford Pintos since 1970. The estimate was mine and was published in *Mother Jones* magazine in September 1977.

Had Friesen bothered to call me, *Mother Jones*, or the head of the Fatality Analysis Reporting System at N.H.T.S.A., he would have learned the following:

☐ I spent two days in May of last year at the Department of Transportation in Washington examining the statistics in question.

☐ Because the data system is unfortunately and unavoidably incomplete, the findings cited by Ford are inconclusive.

□ After the article was published, N.H.T.S.A. and another reporter began to track some of the vehicle-identification numbers in 1976 fire fatalities where models had not been identified in accident reports. They soon discovered that fire fatalities in Pintos more than represented the car's share of the auto population.

☐ Furthermore, statisticians at N.H.T.S.A. would have informed Friesen that even the existing data show a low estimate because many local police departments don't report accidents accurately and many states deliberately deflate fatality statistics so as not to adversely affect their highway tourist trade. Also, if people sustain severe burns in an accident and die several days later, as is so often the case, they are likely not to be reported as a fatality.

☐ Had he called. Friesen would also have learned from me how I estimated 500 burn deaths — the method of arriving at which I regret not having included in the article.

Since I stand by the estimate I invite him to call.

I have no way of knowing whether Friesen called the Ford Motor Company, but if he did and received a straight answer, he would have learned that they considered using the N.H.T.S.A. statistics in a recent product liability trial in Santa Ana, California. When they realized, as I did, that the statistics were incomplete and inconsequential, they wisely elected not to use them in their defense.

Incidentally, the jury in that six-month trial, which heard and saw most of the evidence used in my article, awarded \$128 million to the plaintiff — the largest single product liability judgment in history.

Accuracy indeed!

MARK DOWIE San Francisco

Interpreting frenzy

TO THE REVIEW:

Peter Arnett is entitled to disagree with Peter Braestrup's *Big Story* [CJR, January/ February], but he is not entitled to dismiss my careful summary of its major points and implications as "frenzied" or as reflecting a failure to read the documentation.

Precisely because of the wealth of documentation, and because I was particularly anxious to have my summary accurately represent Braestrup's thoughts, I checked every word that I wrote with him. Braestrup reviewed, and in a few places edited, the two "News Watch" columns that I wrote. If indeed there was anything "frenzied" in that summation, Braestrup shares that "frenzy."

Ironically, this is a reproduction in miniature of one of Braestrup's very points: Arnett, viewing me as a symbolic foe, saw no necessity to report accurately on my work. If he takes this small correction to heart, he may understand better what Braestrup was talking about.

EDITH EFRON Rochester, N.Y.

How they came to Cordoba

TO THE REVIEW:

Your criticism of *Vogue* magazine relative to Chrysler Cordoba advertising ["Darts and Laurels," CJR, January/February] is totally unfair and incorrect. I cannot speak for the other publications involved, as I am unfamiliar with the efforts they made to avoid any editorial involvement with this campaign, but I can explain in detail the restrictions we, *Vogue*, placed on Young & Rubicam, the agency of record, before granting them permission to proceed.

Young and Rubicam first approached Vogue in early August to inquire if they

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might quote a *Vogue* photographer in their upcoming Cordoba campaign. They then asked if they might employ a photographer whose work had appeared in *Vogue*. They wanted to incorporate some views from a fashion-oriented source. We stated they were free to contact some photographer, whose photographs had appeared in our pages, but they must identify that person only as *a Vogue* photographer.

This meant someone who had contributed at one time or another to *Vogue*, but who is totally independent and not exclusive with our magazine. *We* cannot prevent photographers from stating that they have worked for *Vogue*. We are not the only magazine employing their services, and they are free and most accurate in making that statement.

The final copy refers to "contributing photographers to some of the nation's leading magazines." It failed to say a Vogue photographer, which we had demanded (correspondence available if desired), but the agency felt, and so stated, that they were sure the line "contributing photographers" would clear the air of editorial cooperation. We disagree, but have decided not to protest this obvious misrepresentation.

Vogue did not benefit in any manner from this campaign, nor do we feel we have violated our principles. Vogue is not carrying Chrysler Cordoba advertising. We do feel you have misinterpreted our involvement.

> STUYVESANT F. MORRIS Advertising sales manager Vogue

N.N.C.: a few objections

TO THE REVIEW:

We thank the National News Council for sending us a copy of its opinion No. 127 rendered on Mr. Robert Sheaffer's complaint against NBC and the syndicated program entitled "In Search of the Bermuda Triangle" [CJR, March/April]. While we usually do not question the private conclusions and judgments of the Council, we do feel compelled in this instance to comment because we believe that the Council has made serious errors in its findings of facts and has misconstrued NBC's involvement in the production and promotion of the program in question. Since we know that the Council purports to be concerned with accuracy and responsibility, we hope it will correct its opinion.

We first must point out that the Bermuda Triangle program was not carried by the NBC Television Network, which distributes programs to affiliated stations — a group consisting of NBC's five owned stations and approximately 200 independently owned

stations throughout the country. Rather, the program was acquired directly by the NBC-owned stations under licenses granted to each station from the program's syndicator. None of the programs was produced by NBC.

Nor was the program intended by any NBC-owned station to be a news documentary and thus any discussion concerning journalistic standards is wholly extraneous. We obviously agree that certain program elements used in documentaries are often used in entertainment programs, and vice versa. The mere presence of a few of these elements in the Bermuda Triangle program thus does not make it a news documentary.

Ultimately, it appears that the Council's conclusion that the program was a documentary rests on the fact that, at one time, TV Guide happened to list the program as a "documentary." However, reliance on this listing to prove that the program is a documentary is totally inappropriate. The editor of TV Guide himself has admitted that the program was not a documentary and that this fact would be immediately apparent to anyone who viewed the program. As this editor stated, the reason TV Guide listed the program as a documentary was because TV Guide had not prescreened the program or read the script. For the Council to charge NBC with laxity or irresponsibility because of TV Guide's activity is completely unfair to NBC.

It is also significant that *TV Guide* changed its program description after it reviewed the program. The Council, however, still appears to treat the program as a documentary even though the only support for that conclusion — the *TV Guide* listing — was itself changed.

The fact is that NBC was not "lax in its oversight," and the Council's opinion provides no basis for such a finding. The Council totally misses the point that NBC, as one of many licensees of the syndicated program, does not have the obligation or responsibility to review the publicity or promotional material either supplied to TV Guide by the independent producer or prepared by TV Guide itself. Moreover, the specific disclaimer which ran in the program clearly advised the public that any alleged "information" in the program was based in part on theory and conjecture. This notice was certainly sufficient. within the context of an entertainment program, to dispel any possible viewer confusion about the nature of the program.

While we have long questioned whether it is appropriate for a self-appointed private body to second-guess news judgments, even when dealing with legitimate news subjects,

we feel it is particularly inappropriate and almost meaningless for the Council to exercise jurisdiction over a syndicated entertainment program which does not even purport to be a news program. And, we are especially troubled by allegations concerning our "laxity," none of which are supportable or warranted. We hope the Council's opinion will be corrected.

BARBARA G. HERING Senior counsel, NBC

TO THE REVIEW:

The opinions of members of the National News Council in reference to the NBC program "Danger, Radioactive Waste" [CJR, January/February] fail to address what I think is the core issue of this case and virtually all other cases where the complaint is that of one-sidedness. In this instance, the complainants summarized their position by saying the program was designed to exploit viewers' fears and uncertainties and to scare them, not to inform them at a time when information on this subject is of great national importance. This point is not really addressed head on by the Council.

Imbalance and one-sidedness may be defended by some as crusading journalism. There is obviously a place for this tradition, though the boundary between propaganda and crusading journalism is not particularly clear to me.

Is there not also a place for honest, evenhanded discussion of complicated issues? Doesn't informing the public require pointing out the complexity of an issue and the diversity of sound opinion so that the viewer learns that the subject isn't clear-cut and simple? Does journalism always have to take a side, especially in a subject which is highly technical? Since journalists don't usually pretend to sift through all the evidence to decide what side to take, why not recognize that much crusading journalism is essentially nothing more than the presentation of information (it is hoped accurate) which supports a pre-established position?

Let's face it — crusading journalism and informing the public unfortunately don't always go hand in hand.

JOHN W. KISER Washington, D.C.

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REPORTS

"Women's Magazines and the Equal Rights Amendment: Friend or Foe?", by Jennie Farley, **Journal of Communication**, Winter 1978

Is it true what they say about women's magazines - that in their devotion to kitchen and Kinder they are overlooking, if not undermining, their natural opportunities to effect social change? In a bicentennial media blitz in July 1976, thirty-nine women's magazines, responding to an unusual suggestion from Redbook's Sey Chassler, bombarded readers (some 70 million combined) with information about the Equal Rights Amendment. This article by a professor of industrial and labor relations at Cornell attempts to measure that coverage, qualitatively as well as quantitatively. In column-inches, covermentions, and follow-ups, Farley reports, "home" magazines such as McCall's had the most coverage, "romance" types the least; greater coverage was linked to higher circulation, a middle class (as distinct from working-class) readership, and heavy reaction from readers at the time the plan for the magazine project was first announced (anti-E.R.A. letters and phone calls ran around 90 percent). With respect to the degree of advocacy, all thirty-nine were rated as favoring E.R.A., with fashion magazines most supportive, girls' magazines the least so; high advocacy, Farley found, appeared to be associated with having a woman publisher as well as with the relative newness of the publication. Significantly, those editors who identified their readership as anti-E.R.A. were more likely to give the issue lengthy coverage than those who thought their readers were for it, in many cases, Farley says, "bucking editorial policy, protest letters, and their own beliefs about what their readers wanted to hear." The notion that the women's magazines will not challenge the status quo, the author concludes, seems to be mistaken, for, as her findings suggest, their editors are trying to do exactly that.

"The Independent Producer and Public Broadcasting," by Joel A. Levitch, **Public Telecommunications Review,** November/ December 1977

Shunned by the commercial networks, the independent television producer all too often is ignored, exploited, or given the run-

around by public broadcasting as well - a clear betrayal, many feel, of public television's mandate to encourage diversity of sources. Levitch's article provides a thorough airing of the situation. The difficulties, according to the author, himself an independent producer and free-lance writer, are various: the confusing nature of the independent movement, including, as it does, both newcomers eager for training and experienced, talented professionals; specialization by independents in low-cost 34-inch portable video technology, which restricts their opportunities for exposure; and the tendency of station personnel to regard the independents as just one more of an evergrowing number of special-interest groups pressuring for access. At the same time, however, Levitch notes signs of hope: two recent experiments involving production by independents (a \$1 million C.P.B. revolving documentary fund and a \$500,000 joint Ford Foundation-N.E.A. grant to the television laboratory of WNET); the success of the KCET, Los Angeles, Visions series, which used mostly independent producers, writers, and directors; and the current reconsiderations of communications policy by Congress, the Carnegie Commission, and the White House. More fundamental, perhaps, are the several proposals designed to institutionalize the participation of independents - proposals which are only slightly less controversial than the very real prospect of Hollywood's entrance onto the public television scene. One compromise suggestion that Levitch would like to see explored would have independent groups working at existing, perhaps enlarged, production centers, but insulated from station control by decision-making peer-review panels. (Those who may question the urgency of the problem are referred to an accompanying sidebar of first-hand horror tales told by independents.)

"Religious Media's Spreading Tentacles," by Kenneth A. Briggs, **The Christian Century**, March 1, 1978.

With one new religious radio station going on the air every week on the average (as of March 1978 there were 1,064) and a new religious television station added every month (the current tally is twenty-five), and with a \$500 million annual take in audience contributions, religious broadcasting today is moving into the big time. This concise report from the religion editor of The New York Times on the recent convention of the 850member National Religious Broadcasters Association is a straightforward account of the group's directions, conflicts, and concerns. Hucksterism and fraud, Briggs records, are acknowledged as the chief and obvious enemies, but neither are the pitfalls of rivalry and celebrification easy to escape: tense competition, for example, between the two leading producers, the Christian Broadcasting Network of Virginia Beach, and the P.T.L. organization in Charlotte, North Carolina (both of which follow similar talkshow formats involving born-again testimonials, songs by well-known evangelical artists, prayers for the sick, and appeals for financial support) has already developed over projects using communications satellite facilities. A fourth, religious, network is being contemplated and efforts will continue, the convention agreed, to pressure the commercial networks to abolish their present restrictions against selling air time to evangelical broadcasters. Briggs concludes that the most influencial trend may be the fact that religious broadcasters are "embracing the standards and values of the oftendespised commercial media"; their discussions of professionalism, he neutrally observes, always refer to "the adoption of slickness.'

"Journalism Ethics: Some Probings by a Media Keeper," by James C. Thomson Jr., **The Poynter Center,** January 1978

The natives are restless, the media are defensive, and, observes the author of this thoughtful appraisal of journalism ethics, there is a sharply increasing preoccupation with the values of new organizations and individuals. Thomson, who is curator of the Nieman Foundation for Journalism at Harvard, pinpoints the ambiguities peculiar to the field — and offers a few commonsensical proposals. Specifically, he urges a push for increased public access, particularly through the ombudsman post and op-ed page; education of the public on the role of the media through seminars and other programs; opportunities for journalists to take sabbatical breathers for study and growth; the establishment of local, state, or regional press councils on a private, voluntary basis; and a system of mentorship to encourage reporterapprentices to learn and emulate the workstandards of mature editors. Emphatically rejecting the idea of any formal code, guidelines, catechism, or oath, Thomson endorses instead the age-old bywords of fairness and accuracy, to which he would add "a quality not often highly rated in the newsroom" - that of compassion. In applying the equivalent of the Kantian categorical imperative or the New Testament's Golden Rule, Thomson believes, "the reporter and the organization will not go further wrong than most decent but fallible mortals."

"Star Wars," by Peter S. Greenberg, New Times, February 6, 1978

So bedazzled are they by the glitter of the moment's celebrity - not to mention the tinkle of the newsstand's cashbox - that some of the media these days are trading away such editorial prerogatives as cover display and copy control in exchange for exclusive interviews and first-crack access. In his disturbing report on this newest development in journalistic compromise, West Coast editor Greenberg focuses on singer Bob Dylan, his New Times cover story ironically capping a publicity pitch that would have plastered the Dylan face on Time. Newsweek, Esquire, New West, People, and Us (it didn't work). But as the article makes abundantly clear, the Dylan demands were far from unique, and the superstar sweepstakes have reached a point where suspicions of editorial bribery fail to astonish and lawsuits multiply - not, as Greenberg emphasizes, on principles of libel or privacy, but on the crasser grounds of breach of contract. For all its juicy behind-the-cover gossip (learn, for instance, why Glen Campbell's ex-publicist keeps the singer's Us cover hanging over the toilet in his Hollywood office), the article is essentially serious criticism of a situation that can find Time and Newsweek competing for personality covers more strenuously than they compete for news, and in which Time's Henry Grunwald can regard the notorious incident involving the simultaneous Bruce Springsteen covers in Time and Newsweek as his greatest mistake as managing editor. Greenberg quotes journalism critic Ben Bagdikian's advice "to treat these people the same way you would a politician who wants control of the copy or the questions that are to be asked. If they won't give you the information just go somewhere else . . .," but he notes too that this may be a less than perfect solution, what with media now treating political subjects the same as they treat the stars (he points out that, Kissinger-like, Begin and Sadat have lately claimed the right to edit their interviews). How far all this can go is anybody's guess, but if the Dylan experience provides any clue, exposure in the media seems to bear the seeds of its own destruction. GC

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*Survey conducted among owners of new cars bought in May, 1977.



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aturday Herald and Leader (Lexington, Kv.) 1/28/78

Larry Flynt shot

'Can't wait any longer,' Carter says; Page 3

A 14-year-old Ottawa girl told Ottawa police early this morning that while she babysat at a home on Jefferson Street a man tapped on a window then exposed himself to her, city police said today. Police were able to get a partial discription of the man, officers said.



JOHNNY CASH and his wife, June Carter, one of country music's fa-vorite couples

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FOR THE SECOND TIME IN 13 MONTHS: A MAN WHO HAS BEEN SUPPLYING AUTHORITIES WITH INFOR-MATION ON CIGARETTE SHUGGLING IN PENNSYLVANIA HAS BEEN SLAIN.

Slum-Raising Plan Assailed

The New York Times 2 9 78

ENFIELD - Freshwater Pond Associates could begin construction within 45 days of the 75 housing units planned for the Pond urban renewal area.

Associates' lawyer, Anthony DiFabic Thursday told the Housing Authority that, if local approval is given, "the hovels can go in the ground."

e Daily News (Windsor Locks, Conn.) 3/17/78

To give you an idea of diamond values, the piece shown is available for about \$6500. Your jeweler can show you other diamond jewelry starting at about \$200. De Beers Consolidated Mines, Ltd. She made me promise not to get her anything this year. She doesn't know I crossed my fingers. diamond is forever.

